SOWERS of HATRED and HOSTILITY

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FOREWORD

A component part of Washington's "crusade for freedom" is the subversive anti-Soviet propaganda it is conducting, the aim of which is to shake loose the foundations of socialist society on the one hand, and justify and whitewash the aggressive US foreign policy line against socialist states on the other. The Reagan administration has instructed its propaganda departments to act in accordance with the so-called "bullet theory" which presupposes aggressiveness and exerting influence constantly on the masses.

All the forces and facilities making up the "psychological war" apparatus, which the West has at its disposal, have been mobilized. Ideological sabotage, subversive propaganda, slander and misinformation have become those constituent elements of Washington's state policy that are used in the attempt to exert military and political pressure on the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In one of his speeches President Ronald Reagan announced that the goal of his administration — the goal of subversive anti-communist activity raised to the rank of US state policy — is "to change human history." This statement became a characteristic slogan of the ideological saboteur. The "crusade" announced by the American administration is a campaign directed against not only socialism

but all the forces of progress, democracy, peace and national independence as well. It represents a distinctive expression of the adventuristic foreign policy of imperialist circles. This, in essence, is the action program of the most ultra elements of world reaction.

The present "crusade" is not an original invention of Reagan and his "team." Similar campaigns have been waged ever since 1917. They took on new forms after the world socialist system came into existence. The present "crusade" has acquired a number of features that makes it especially dangerous. Disregarding the realities of the nuclear age, the American administration, and the "psychological war" apparatus which it has at its disposal, has plunged into extensive military, economic, psychological and ideological preparations for a nuclear "crusade" — a new world war. To all intents and purposes, Washington is attempting to channel existing ideological differences between the two socio-economic systems into what would be a confrontation between states.

Simultaneously, concentrated effort is being made in the West to discredit the Soviet peaceable foreign and profoundly democratic policies, and misconstrue the socialist way of life by spreading falsehoods that our economy "lags behind," that national minorities are being "persecuted," and so on.

In contrast to communist propaganda, bourgeois propaganda — as the basic instrument in the "psychological war" — spreads reactionary ideas, justifies conservative socio-economic systems which have become outdated, and preaches social inequality, racial discrimination, the arms

race, and brute force. The crux of the matter is that the West wants to secure for itself an advantage in the strategic confrontation between the two socio-economic systems and in its attempt to wreck international cooperation in all fields.

It is in these conditions that the imperialist forces are activating to a greater extent various types of emigrant anti-Soviet groupings, including Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organizations, and reactionary formations of emigrants from East European socialist countries. It should also be noted that imperialism, by implementing anti-Soviet, anti-communist policies and by organizing and carrying out subversive activity in the ideological sphere, is more distinctly linking its future activities with Zionist circles.

One can judge the scale of this activity by the following fact: the American administration, according to an admission made by Linas Kojelis, Associate Director, Office of Liaison (Ethnic Problems) at the White House, was cooperating with 55 rabid anti-communist groupings, giving them much more attention than had any of the previous US governments.

In one way or another, all these questions are touched upon in this collection of articles and essays. The basic thing that unites them — seemingly of a varied nature and independent of each other — is the desire to show the true state of affairs in the present anti-Soviet, anti-communist policy of the American administration, and expose the objectives and contents of that policy. The authors made it their task to disclose who in the West needs the serv-

ices of reactionary emigrant leaders and Zionist criminals, why they are needed, and to what ends are directed the endeavors of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists to draw into their ranks through deception and slander at least a small number of young people of Ukrainian descent who live abroad.

The following thought runs through the entire collection of articles and essays: Washington and its loyal followers are doing everything possible so as to sow among the populations of western countries hatred and mistrust of Soviet people and citizens of all socialist states, and at the same time drive a wedge in relations between various socialist states and aggravate the world situation by means of goading existing contradictions in international relations.

TARGET OF THE ATTACKS — THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY

On December 13, 1949 the President of the United States of America, Harry S. Truman, approved the National Security Council directive 58/2 entitled "United States Policy Toward the Soviet Satellite States in Eastern Europe" and prescribed that it be used as a guideline by all state agencies involved in implementing US foreign policy. The directive stated: "The time is now ripe for us to place greater emphasis on the offensive to consider whether we cannot do more to cause the elimination or at least a reduction of predominant Soviet influence in the satellite states of Eastern Europe." The anti-Sovietism which runs through the entire directive is combined with a deep contempt for the peoples of Eastern Europe on whose behalf the United States personally acted so as "to enable them eventually to choose governments which would observe the fundamental freedoms and human rights due their people (this is the source of Jimmy Carter's 'original ideas' — *Author*) in conformity with the interests of the world community and with our position..." It is understood that any talk about the United States having relations on an equal basis with these countries, and of respecting their sovereignty was out of the question, for "these states are in themselves of secondary importance on the European scene," and because "democracy in the western

sense is alien to their culture and tradition." The authors of this directive condescendingly agreed that "eventually they must play an important role in a free and integrated Europe" (that is, based on American principles — *Author*).

The setting up of bourgeois governments was proclaimed as being the ultimate goal. But "strong tactical considerations, however, argue against setting up this goal as an immediate objective." The reason for this is the Soviet Union, which appears in the role of a guarantor that social transformations in East European countries are irreversible, as well as the traditional United States wish not to overstrain itself in attaining US objectives but to have somebody else pull its chestnuts out of the fire. The United States also did not reject the idea of a possible intervention if it did not succeed in toppling the People's Democracies by other methods, or, at any rate, in threatening intervention. "Non-totalitarian leadership... has little chance of coming to power save through armed intervention from the West. Were we to set up as our immediate goal the replacement of totalitarianism by democracy, an overwhelming portion of the task would fall on us, and we would find ourselves directly engaging the Kremlin's prestige and provoking strong Soviet reaction, possibly in the form of war... At best, we would find ourselves deeply enmeshed in the Eastern European situation and saddled with an indefinitely continuing burden of political, economic and military responsibility for the survival of the uncertain regimes which we had placed in power." This perspective did not suit

the American leadership and that is why other means for achieving the desired objective, calculated on a long-term basis, were proposed. And Harry S. Truman was disposed to this when he made a self-appraisal of the doctrine that was named after him. He said: "All I am interested in is the doctrine of the Republic of the United States of America, to restore free government in the world... If you think that can be done in 15 minutes, or 6 months, or 5 years, or 10 years, you are just as mistaken as you can be." The authors of the directive considered that the economic relations of the East European countries were most vulnerable to western influence. The main target planned for the attacks was the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The theoreticians from the US State Department considered that certain possibilities existed in the political sphere for the United States to exert its influence. It was acknowledged that in this most important direction pressure should be applied in the sphere of bilateral relations and multilateral diplomacy (at international organizations) so as to weaken ties between the Soviet Union and Eastern European states, and also between the latter. The principle of differential approach was advanced (which consequently was presented as the "latest word" in the East European policy of the United States): "No one course of action can be applied alike to all satellites. Obviously our policy both with regard to methods and tempo must differ among the several orbit countries. These are tactical problems which must be flexibly worked out by the operating elements within this government."

The central place in the ideological direction is relegated to attacks on the "basic doctrine" — the unity of socialist countries — which "should be unremittingly attacked all across the board in its political, economic and cultural applications." It was considered that "healthy nationalism" should be encouraged in every possible way. And this offensive was carried out both by open and covert (subversive) acts. It was not accidental that paragraphs 27-56 of the NSC 58/2 directive (that is, its concluding part) were not declassified when the document was published. There is every reason to believe that they make up the program of covert subversive acts against the socialist countries that has not lost its actuality even today.

As one of its most important tasks, the United States proposed that a united front of western states be knocked together against the socialist countries because "our western allies have far-reaching legitimate interests in Eastern Europe and... the full effectiveness of our operations depends upon their cooperation."

Having formulated a broad program of anti-socialist activities, the authors of the memorandum found factors which to their mind were necessary to take into account when realizing it. This included: a) choice of timing and pace; b) long-term objectives; c) the United States position in the world; d) relations with the USSR; e) the relative vulnerability of this or that socialist country. "Although the time is now ripe for us to move to the offensive," states the memorandum, "this does not mean that we should attempt to move at a maximum pace. Our

pace must be accommodated to what the situation in the satellites warrants."

The main objective in the East European policy of the United States was considered the destruction of the socialist system ("Soviet power" — as stated in the memorandum) in the "satellite countries (this terminology is used in relation to countries which took the road of socialist construction after World War II). So as to achieve this goal, "two principal courses of action are conceivable. One is war; the other is measures short of war. Resort to war as a course of action is raised in this paper solely for the purpose of making clear that it should be rejected as a practical alternative. (...) this paper is necessarily addressed to measures short of war." One cannot but be amazed over NSC's "peaceableness." Simultaneously, plans for the United States to wage a war against the USSR and the Peoples' Democracies were elaborated and adopted one after another.

The main NSC documents drawn up in the late 1940s show that "means lower than the threshold of war" and "military means" do not exclude one another but rather are part and parcel of one whole. In "cold war" strategy they are equivalent and the choice of one or the other is a matter of tactics. Policy conducted by means "lower than the threshold of war" literally means balancing "on the brink of war," and assumes that there exists the posibility of military escalation at any moment. That is why the high level of armaments and their constant build-up was specified as the decisive principle of all political, economic and ideological "cold war" undertakings and preparations for a "hot war."

It is evident that any measures on limiting arms and on disarmament were, in principle, incompatible with the course taken for establishing the "Pax Americana." United States ruling circles considered that the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries were the main obstacles to realizing its plans for attaining world supremacy. In conducting their policy of "deterrence," the main blow was being directed against the USSR, but no exception was made for any socialist country.

The military plans of the United States for the 1947-1949 period envisaged that war with the Soviet Union was inevitable if the West would not be able to attain by means "lower than the threshold of war" the "containment" of world socialism; that it was inadmissible to allow the Soviet Union and its allies to obtain such an economic and military potential as the one which the West had at its disposal, and that the United States should be ready to be the first to utilize nuclear weapons in a "preventive" war. A preventive war, according to the American idea, was an admissible means to be used against "communist aggression." It was self-understood that during a war with the Soviet Union the territories of the East European socialist countries would be involved, and that there could not be in the plans of the Washington strategists anything about their sovereignty. *Dropshot* — the United States Plan for War with the Soviet Union in 1957 drawn up by the Joint Chiefs of Staff — envisaged two variants of a campaign against the USSR: the northern variant — an attack through Central Europe; and, the southern — from the Mediterranean Sea

area. Also, a "pincer" operation was recommended with the main striking direction to be on the left (northwestern) front. It was considered that a war with the Soviet Union and its satellites could be won by putting 164 divisions in the field. For the sake of comparison, the Nazis at the height of their power pitted against the Soviet Union 214 divisions and 24 brigades in the spring of 1942. Plan *Dropshot* contained a detailed elaboration of how the occupational regime would be organized on the territories of the USSR and the East European socialist countries. American imperialism, despite a marked inclination for adventurism on a global scale, did not realize this plan, nor a number of others that had been drawn up in the higher echelons of power in Washington. The reason was that military specialists arrived at the unequivocal conclusion that the United States did not have the potential of delivering a blow at the Soviet Union and its allies from which the socialist countries could not recover. Washington's strategists, however, did not abandon their dangerours illusion to eventually gain the upper hand through a "situation of superior forces." This, in part, was verified by the lesser known plans drawn up at a later date. For example, *OPLAN 100-1* and *OPLAN 100-6* envisaged in the 1960s the "liberation" of Eastern Europe by military means. As was indicated by the British magazine *New Statesman* in its June 27, 1980 issue, a preventive blow was planned against the USSR that would to a great degree destroy the Soviet conventional and nuclear missile weaponry systems. Then the "liberation" of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovak

Socialist Republic would follow by military means.

The document *PO/78/99 US NATO CTS 78-77* (classified as "Top Secret") shows that plans for a nuclear war against the socialist community countries had not become a thing of the past. The question now was not about a mere 20 or 70 targets for nuclear blows as planned in the 1945-1947 period. More than 2,500 targets in the Soviet Union and on the territories of other Warsaw Treaty countries were now planned for NATO's nuclear weaponry, including the new American medium range and cruise missiles. This plan clearly indicates that the authors of *Dropshot* have in our times found worthy successors in the persons of American and NATO strategists.

Having laid special stress on rivalry instead of cooperation with the USSR, ruling circles in the United States also charted the main tendencies in their East European policy. The United States has embarked on a course of rivalry with the Soviet Union for influence in East European affairs. The real goals of this "peaceful rivalry" in the region are disclosed in a special report prepared by the Library of Congress, which, in part, states: "The United States has generally seen its own interests as being promoted by a loosening of the ties between the East European countries and the Soviet Union, particularly in the military sphere."

One cannot understand the East European policy of the United States without understanding its global strategy. Regardless of this policy's specific nature, it most indelibly is connected with policy in relation to the Soviet Union.

Eastern Europe is viewed by the United States through the prism of Soviet-American relations and NATO interests. Situated geographically between Western Europe and the USSR, Eastern Europe is assessed by Washington's strategists "as both a buffer and a transmission belt between East and West," and also primarily "as a territory from which any potential Soviet military action against NATO countries would likely be launched." The United States does not acknowledge the position of socialism in the region as being a stable one. Washington slanderously asserts that modern relations between socialist community countries have been thrust upon them by Soviet military force and are not based on mutual interests. It is in this set pattern of relations and not in US and NATO policy that the ideologues of Washington's foreign policy are inclined to view the major cause of tension and instability that remains in Europe.

"The about face which United States policymakers have made — from detente to harshness and aggressiveness, from negotiations with the USSR to attempts at confronting it from positions of strength — are explained by a number of reasons," writes the Soviet researcher Genrykh Trofimenko. "Very important among these reasons," he elaborates, "is the rigidity of dogmas and conceptions which have become traditional in the great-power and imperialist thinking of US ruling circles. And even though these fundamental postulates did undergo certain changes under the influence of the new situation in the world, they, nevertheless, have proven to be more stable than realistic ideas in politics."

Among the basic postulates and principles of US foreign policy, Trofimenko singles out a number of components which in full measure pertain to the East European policy of the United States: military might; flirtation with messianic ideas; high degree of indoctrination in foreign policy; hegemonism; geopolitical approach to the world; technocratic fetishism; two-party nature of foreign policy.

Certain changes in the US East European policy came about in the mid-1970s and early 1980s under the influence of various factors: internal and external; long-term and short-term.

First and foremost among the long-term factors should be singled out the growing ascendency of the correlation of forces in the world in favor of the socialist countries. One could respond to this in different ways. But events have shown that the American administration was not capable of resigning itself to them and behaving according to the spirit of peaceful coexistence and detente: all its alternatives led to a search for means capable of reversing this process.

In the mid-1970s the correlation of forces in American ruling circles between the realistically-minded politicians and the "hawks" steadily changed in favor of the latter, and already by the early 1980s they had captured predominant positions in the administration and in both houses of the United States Congress. The result was a return to using military force as the basic means in politics as far as the socialist countries were concerned.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Washington activated its policy of putting military pres-

sure on the Warsaw Treaty countries. The new spiral in the arms race and military-political tension was viewed by the United States not only as a method for "curbing" the mythical "Soviet military threat," but also as a universal means of influencing the internal situation in the socialist community countries and their relations between each other. The buildup of the military potential of the NATO member states and the stepping up of their military preparations forced the socialist countries to take retaliatory measures to boost the defensive might of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. The United States administration proceeds from the assumption that regardless of the negative consequences which the arms race could have for the capitalist economy, it would be too heavy a burden for the socialist countries and would exhaust them. This was the stake placed on the "economic" side of military pressure: in effect, it would raise the efficiency of the West's political, ideological and diplomatic influence on the peoples and governments of East European countries.

In working out the fundamentals of US policy in relation to East European states, the authors of the NSC 58/2 directive defined trade and economic relations as an instrument of this policy in the following way: "It is probably in the economic realm that we can most concretely make our influence felt. (...) The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (is) affected by the policies which we follow with regard to such matters as East-West trade, purchase of gold and export controls. The potential effectiveness of our economic tactics is widespread. If we can

succeed in jolting the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance structure, their repercussions are bound to be felt in the political, military and cultural spheres."

It was not by chance that the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance became a target for abuse for American politicians the moment it was set up. CMEA constituted a threat to the United States for it would derange the latter's trade and economic war against the East European socialist countries inasmuch as this organization was raising to a new qualitative level economic cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries, and helping to resolve vital problems concerning the development of the national economics of its member countries. In falsifying the real tasks and aims of CMEA, Foy D. Kohler, the US Chargé-d'affaires in the USSR, reported to the State Department that the CMEA plan "is designed to remake them (i. e., East European countries — *Author*) as rapidly as possible (without over-incorporation) on the exact pattern of Soviet republics already within the Union. This involves a complete reconstruction and reorientation of their political, economic, military, social and ideological life and institutions until they are, for all practical purposes, active parts of the Soviet Union directed from Moscow like other nominal components, with actual incorporation only a technical formality to be accomplished at the eventual appropriate time."

So as to impose on its allies a policy of economic blackmail, the United States set up the Coordinating Committee to Control Export of Strategic Goods to Communist Countries

(COCOM), which all NATO countries (except Iceland) and Japan joined.

In May, 1949, the National Security Council issued a report elaborating a system of measures that would compel West European countries to adopt a list of goods not allowed for export to Eastern Europe on the American pattern. Notwithstanding that these measures were not applied at the time, this report has not been declassified to this day. The reason for this, evidently, is of a double nature: a) the proposed measures would obviously damage greatly the interests of West European countries and that was why it was decided not to introduce them at that time; b) these recommendations were to be put into practice at a later date, otherwise it is difficult to explain why it was and is necessary to keep them secret.

Elucidated in the State Department's secret document "Existing East-West Trade Restrictions" (MAP D-G/31) are the motives by which a) an agreement on control does not formally exist — COCOM operates on the basis of a "gentleman's" agreement; b) everything pertaining to this document is surrounded by a veil of complete secrecy: "No written agreements... because of the necessity of registering agreements with the UN. The participants have been urged to exchange information with the US on the extent of their export controls to the Soviet orbit. It should be noted that because of the great economic importance of East-West trade to many of the ERP countries, and because of the political strength of the Communists in some of these countries, the negotiations on restrictions... is a matter of extreme delicacy."

The system of control over US exports to socialist countries introduced in 1948 has, is essence, not been changed. According to the 1969 law on regulating export (with the 1979 amendments) that is presently in force, licences have to be obtained for the export of any goods from the country. These licenses could either be general (permanent) or individual (expendable). The process whereby export licenses can be obtained differ for separate groups of countries. The majority of the European socialist countries and the Soviet Union have been included in a separate category and their import opportunities are extremely limited. (Stricter restrictions were imposed on Cuba, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Vietnam and Kampuchea. An almost complete embargo has been placed on these countries.)

The 1949 law on export control stipulated restrictions on the export of strategic military goods to socialist countries. In 1962 there was an amendment to this law that extended control to a range of export items that Washington considered could be conducive to strengthening the economic might of the socialist countries. These measures were motivated by considerations for the "national security" of the United States of America.

During the 1970s and early 1980s there was a strong tendency in the United States to place all types of economic relations and cooperation with socialist countries in the field of science and technology under strict state control so as to strangle all initiative on the part of private individuals, businesses and non-governmental organizations. According to the Presidential

memorandum No. 31 (October, 1978), the White House utilized its prerogative to make decisions concerning the sale of machinery and technology to socialist countries, and the NSC Cabinet Council on Science and Technology took on the role of "observer" in examining all applications for the issuance of licenses to American firms for the export of goods and technology to those countries. Control by the state was also extended to other types of trade, to granting credit to socialist countries and mixed companies, and so on. The White House imposed a ban on the delivery of a number of commodities to socialist countries with the aim of forcing them to make political concessions.

The main links in the mechanism of export control under present conditions were specified during the 1981 congressional hearing on questions pertaining to East-West trade. The representative from the Department of Commerce emphasized in this connection: "The Export Administration Act is very clear in granting the Department of Commerce the authority to restrict the export of goods and technology which could make a significant contribution to the military potential of any country that would prove detrimental to the national security of the United States. We do have the national security responsibility in the Department... So it is not only with the National Security Council, it is not only with the Department of Defense, and it is not only with the Department of State; those agencies are advisory agencies to the Department of Commerce" (in controlling East-West trade — *Author*). In addition, the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Myer Rashish,

explained that "without going into details, the President had been already addressed and had decided a number of major issues in this field."

Fred Ikle, Under Secretary for Policy of the Department of Defense, did not consider it necessary to hide the fact that his department controls the issuance of export licenses, and elaborates recommendations on the broad spheres of export control. He flatly stated that in the license review process "the appropriate intelligence offices and technical experts are consulted."

Here we would like to mention the not so humorous remark made by Charles Mathias, Chairman of the Senate's Sub-Committee on International Commerce: "What about baseball bats? That was a controversial item at one time because if the Soviet Union, if the Red Army learned to play baseball and we shipped them baseball bats that would improve their troop morale."

In June 1984, on Washington's insistence, the United State's partners in COCOM agreed that a noticeable shift should be made toward stricter control over the export of up-to-date machinery and technology to socialist countries. COCOM was given the task to secure the "controlled technical backwardness" of the Eastern Bloc countries and "filter" the export of goods, particularly electronic equipment (which now can be sold to CMEA countries not earlier than four years after it first appears on the market) and machine tools. The United States intends to step up its influence on export by controlling the activity of all foreign countries operating under

American licenses. The White House is endeavoring to obtain the right to punish companies which have violated the export control rules by shutting off American markets to them. Such a cardinal measure, if undertaken, would surely inflict grave damage upon numerous West European firms.

The United States has not stopped trying to frighten West Europeans with the bogey that development of mutually advantageous cooperation between East and West — if based on bilateral and not "Atlantic" principles — would lead to the so-called "Finlandization" of Western Europe. This, they say, is the goal of Soviet policy. Implied by the term "Finlandization" — according to those who have a primitive outlook on modern international relations — is that if one or another state does not adhere to American orientation, then this meant that they did not have an independent political line and acted on the international scene not in their (read — American) interests but in those of the Soviet Union.

As for the attempts of the United States to damage the social and economic development of the socialist community countries by imposing on its allies sanctions, embargoes and applying other measures from the trade-war arsenal, William Root, the Director of the State Department's Office of East-West Trade, recommended that the following logic be applied: "If political and security reasons require the West to restrict strategic exports, why not prohibit all exports to the East? Every item traded is regarded as strategic in wartime."

The United States pursues several objectives

with its plans to downgrade the trade-and-economic relations of West European countries and Japan on the one hand, and socialist countries on the other. First: to distract attention from internal contradictions that exist in the West — the "trade war" among the allies. Second: to conduct an operation that would intensify economic pressure on the East European socialist countries at the expense of its partners, thus tangibly damaging the latter. Third: to strengthen the "unity" of the capitalist world, which Washington unambiguously interprets as total dependence on the United States.

Those who play the tune in Reagan's administration — the supporters of the "hard line" — consider it necessary to completely subordinate policy concerning East European countries to the task of sharpening confrontation with the Soviet Union. They are prone to examine the "Soviet Bloc" as an integral whole, ignoring any differences between the Warsaw Treaty states. Any improvement in bilateral relations, first and foremost economic relations, with East European countries supposedly would "ease" the USSR's burden, strengthen its defense potential and, consequently, contradict the national security interests of the United States. At the same time, according to the views held by this grouping, any positive relations with East European countries "strengthen the positions of Communist regimes." And this would be contrary to US interests. These "hardliners" consider that the United States is not capable of effectively promoting in any way a "liberalization" of the political situation in those countries, thus making a "differentiated" approach

meaningless. They insist that contacts with the socialist community countries be curtailed in all spheres; that a freeze be put on all trade and economic relations; that the export of technology to European socialist countries be vastly reduced ("inasmuch as the Soviet Union receives access to it through intermediaries"); that the activity of subversive radio stations be stepped up; and that the entire complex of the "psychological war," directed at stimulating anti-Soviet opposition and undermining the foundations of the socialist system, be expanded. Used as a weapon in this "psychological war" was the false accusation that Sergei Antonov, a Bulgarian citizen, was involved in the May 13, 1981 attempt to assassinate Pope John Paul II.

Back in the years of the "cold war" the American foreign policy-makers advanced the provocative conception of "two-levelled" relations with the socialist community countries, according to which it was possible to continue a "civilized" dialogue between the governments of the United States and socialist countries, and at the same time conduct broad anti-government propaganda among the populations of the latter. This idea was completely accepted by the Reagan administration.

Already in the second half of the 1940s American intelligence had allocated a special place to the organizing of sabotage, blackmail, and subversive propaganda acts against East European countries by emigrants from those regions. In giving the subversive acts against socialist countries a "theoretical foundation," Allen Dulles, in his "classical" opus *The Craft of Intelligence* (which for good reason was nicknamed

the CIA's *Mein Kampf*) wrote the following in connection about the "legality" of subversive anti-government activity conducted in socialist countries: "The answer to the question of the need for intelligence against the Communist Bloc is that we are not really 'at peace' with them..."

Anti-communists — refugees from East European countries — were recruited by underhanded subversive-spying methods for defending the "national security" of the United States. For the most part, adventurers, seekers after easy money, declassified and criminal elements, Nazi collaborators, and so on, were chosen by the imperialist special services. It was from among such riffraff that the American intelligence (its center was located in Frankfurt am Main) enlisted its agents, teaching them the ABCs of espionage and sabotage before sending them into East European countries. All of West Germany (first the occupational zones of the western states) was covered with a network of American intelligence offices, and the territory of Austria was assigned an auxiliary role.

Counterrevolutionary emigrants from Eastern Europe offered their services to the US special services as experts, and from their midst spies and saboteurs were signed up. Western intelligence agencies competed with each other in an endeavor to obtain emigrant "experts," "secrets," and "contacts" with the countries they had left. In the American Occupational Zone alone, wrote Gary Rozitske, career CIA secret service officer, dozens of intelligence sub-units, hundreds of investigators and scouts, and thousands of agents operated on the borders of East

Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Their task included the interviewing and enlistment of people who had formerly lived in Eastern Europe and the collection of information from them.

Many emigrants who came to the West soon found themselves in dire financial straits. And not only did this speedily lead the "freedom fighters" to moral and physical degradation, intrigues and greed for profit, but also eased the enlistment of spies and saboteurs from their midst. They were the ones actively used in executing the dirtiest jobs against the countries which they had left. The "political" emigrants immediately became fully dependent — organizationally and financially — on their American employers and this defined the main tendencies of their "theoretical" and "practical" activity.

On June 1, 1949 it was announced that the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc., was set up with headquarters in New York City. In elaborating the tasks of the committee, its chairman said: "As item No. 1 in our immediate program we propose — have in fact already begun — to find suitable occupations for these democratic exiles... We are proposing to ask... them to prepare studies on topics for which they are especially equipped... We look forward to the day when there will no longer be an Iron Curtain... When that time comes, there will be something close to social chaos and a political vacuum... (in the East European countries — *Author*). Looking forward to that historic and critical time we have in mind that, if meanwhile democratic leaders have been helped to keep alive and in vigor in the democratic heavens to

which they have been driven, we can hope that on returning home they will have parts in a democratic reconstruction. Our second purpose will be to put the voices of these exiled political leaders on the air, addressed to their own peoples back in Europe, in their own languages, in the familiar tones. We shall help them also get their messages back by the printed work. We shall endeavor to supplement the *Voice of America* (with other radio stations — *Author*), for the *Voice* is under restrictions by reason of its official character. The third and final point in our immediate program is to set out at once to bring the exiled leaders into a broad contact with American life..."

The program distributed by the State Department to all US embassies and missions in Europe and in the Middle East stated that the "Department of State has been continually informed about the process of formation of the committee... it has given its unofficial approval to the committee's objectives. We expect that the committee will cooperate in every way toward the accomplishment of our objectives in Eastern Europe and of the general aims of our foreign policy."

A conference took place at the US State Department on May 4, 1950 for the establishment of contact between the diplomatic services and *Radio Free Europe*. At this meeting Camel Offie of the CIA passed on general information about *Radio Free Europe* which was set up in December of 1949 as a subdivision of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc.,— a "private" organization of the anti-socialist emigration from Eastern Europe.

At that conference it was decided that Robert Joyce, Member of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department, would "plan the activities of *Radio Free Europe* at the political level" ("private" and independent organization?! — *Author).* "The Department will prepare a regular policy guidance for the American supervisory personnel of *Radio Free Europe.* This guidance will be used as the basic terms of reference by *Radio Free Europe.* Furthermore, *Radio Free Europe* will be open to any positive ideas that the Department may offer."

Radio Free Europe began broadcasting to Czechoslovakia from the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany in July of 1950. Emigrants who had defected from their country after the February 1948 events — political refugees from the so-called "Third Resistance" — were appointed to leading positions in the Czechoslovak section. With its five radio broadcasting sections — Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Rumanian and Czechoslovak — and its main operational services — administration of the radio station, collection of information and radio interception, strategic guidance, internal security and counterespionage, special projects service (dispatching subversive printed matter to socialist countries) — two sections were set up that fulfil strictly intelligence functions: Eastern European research and analysis, and study of the Communist sphere. Emigrants are not allowed to occupy top posts at *Rario Free Europe*, or to plan its strategy, or to manage the "research" services. Working there are some 200 emigrants — rank and file personnel — under the guidance of the American secret service officers.

The *Radio Liberty* and *Radio Free Europe* stations broadcast 1,010 hours daily in 22 languages of the peoples of the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. *Radio Rree Europe* transmits programs to Poland on a 24-hour basis. Nonetheless, as Mark Frons, columnist for *Newsweek* has noted, despite increased efforts on the part of the United States, it is losing the propaganda war at least on one front. Critics assert, states the magazine, that during Reagan's administration the *Voice of America* and its two sisters — *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* — which Americans control, do not report the news objectively and have become nothing more than forums for extremist emigrants from Eastern Europe or the mouthpieces of the extremist views of the White House. This is not so surprising when the views of the stations' management are taken into account. For example, Phil Nicolaides, former program director at the *Voice of America*, stated: "We must portray the Soviet Union as the last great predatory empire on earth, remorselessly enslaving its own diverse ethnic populations, crushing the legitimate aspirations of its captive nations... (i. e., Eastern European countries — *Author*). We must strive to 'destabilize' the Soviet Union and its satellites by promoting disaffection between peoples and rulers."

In 1981 President Reagan appointed Charles Wick — a rabid anti-communist — to the post of director of the United States Information Agency (USIA). Wick shook up the higher echelons of USIA's administration, even hinting that "there could be Soviet agents among the VOA personnel."

Considerable changes also took place at the *Radio Free Europe* and *Radio Liberty* stations in Munich. Their boards of directors were scrapped and all functions handed over to the International Broadcasting Council (Chairman of the Board — William Shakespeare). Some of the staff members were forced to leave or were fired for having disagreed with the new policy in program-making. Critics state that the former director of *Radio Free Europe* had given the ultraright extremist emigrés from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe a free hand and this frequently put him in an embarrasing position. In its noisy anti-Soviet programs, the station had broadcast a number of anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic commentaries and even went so far as to criticize political pluralism and democracy in the western world. A secret conference took place at the Polish section of *Radio Free Europe* on May 5, 1982. The slanderous campaign against inst the Polish People's Republic took on, even according to the opinion of some emigré staff members at *Radio Free Europe*, unprecedented proportions. The director of the Polish section at that station, Zigmunt Michalowski (in May 1982 he was replaced by "writer" Zbigniew Naider whom the Warsaw Tribunal had sentenced to death in his abscence for espionage against the Polish People's Republic and betrayal of his homeland), speaking before members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives of US Congress on August 18, 1981 acknowledged that the disturbances taking place in Poland had been prepared by local dissidents who received assistance from *Radio Free Europe.*

On November 8, 1983 President Reagan signed a bill that allocated 62 million 600 thousand dollars from the United States' budget (1984 fiscal year) for the needs of the "national fund in support of democracy." Large "psychological war" operations, particularly in destabilizing the existing system in socialist countries, are financed from this fund. For that same fiscal year USIA received an allocation amounting to 711 million 400 thousand dollars.

The "radio voices" are geared to carrying out two basic functions: 1) propagandistic and 2) subversive work. Included among the tasks of the propaganda and subversive services are: to camouflage intelligence activity; to sow discontent in separate European socialist countries by means of artificially setting the interests of society and each of its citizens against all aspects of the domestic and international policy of the ruling parties; to appear in the capacity of the "voice of the political emigration," "champions of a righteous cause"; to stimulate on the basis of discontent the appearance of an anti-socialist opposition from the ranks of which informers and agents are to be recruited for the imperialist special services.

The constant goal of the US East European policy is to restore the bourgeois system in the region, and to revive the "Cordon Sanitaire" along the western borders of the USSR. These ambitious goals were never backed up by means capable of securing their realization. Benner Kovrig correctly noted that in the postwar years Eastern Europe "evoked independently of the vagaries of American foreign policy, for neither the policy of liberation nor that of peaceful en-

gagement could materially affect the status of the satellites. (...) Rooted in impotence, Washington's policies toward East-Central Europe varied more in their declaratory forms than in their operational forms, for the basic premises of containment had become an orthodoxy."

The limited means for realizing the United States East European policy, as Alexander Dallin and Gail Lapidus pointed out in their article published in *Foreign Affairs*, was due to "the basic fact that there was little the United States could or would do" (i. e., in Poland and everywhere in Eastern Europe — *Author*). This, however, should not lead to underestimating their danger to the cause of socialist construction in East European countries and the scale of damage they could do. These means vary greatly — from economic blackmail to espionage, sabotage, and "psychological warfare." While functioning within a limited framework of means to realize the East European policy the American strategists have not stopped searching for "sore spots" in socialist cooperation. They are conducting purposeful work in gathering information, analyzing it and working out practical recommendations. However, according to an appraisal made by the above-mentioned political scientists, "the heightened preoccupation with the 'Soviet threat' and the black-and-white view of world affairs made it especially difficult for the Reagan administration to develop a coherent policy regarding Eastern Europe."

VALERY TSEBERKO

MADMEN STAKING ON WAR

The world revolutionary process is presently passing through a stage, when, according to V. I. Lenin, "our revolution has borne out the rule that the strength of a revolution, the vigour of its assault, its energy, determination, its victory and its triumph, intensify the resistance of the bourgeoisie. The more victorious we are, the more the capitalist exploiters learn to unite and the more determined is their assault."

The current anti-communist crusade reflects the actual policy of imperialism, primarily American, which is directed at confrontation and escalation of the arms race. The American administration, and those of several other NATO countries, is striving to direct class hostility into the channel of military rivalry on the international scene. This, in the end run, endangers the very existence of civilization. The assault forces of imperialism are stepping up the material and ideological preparations for World War III.

Today, decades after Nazism was routed, a threat looms over mankind which can be considered as being more dangerous than the Nazi hordes. This is the threat of the nuclear annihilation of all life on Earth. A new world war, however, is not inevitable. The peace-loving forces are capable of preventing it by mobilizing and uniting all their resources. The main guar-

antee for this is the might and consistent peaceable policy of the socialist community of countries. The aggressive course taken by imperialism gives rise to deep consternation on the part of the peoples and evokes resolute counteractions by the anti-war movement, by all public figures and statesmen who are aware of their responsibility for mankind's future.

In the meantime, the most repulsive formations of imperialist reaction — fascist and neofascist oriented groupings, racist organizations, representatives of the counterrevolutionary emigration, and other ultra organizations — are pinning their hopes on the adventuristic incendiary foreign policy of the United States, and the rebirth of McCarthyism on the domestic scene. Ardent supporters of the course taken by the imperialist oligarchy for unleashing a third world war are the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

As at all previous times, the main task of the Ukrainian nationalist counterrevolution is to participate in the preparations for an open military confrontation with the USSR and its allies which the most reactionary circles in the West are to start. The leaders of nationalist organizations understand only too well that the only way capitalism can be restored in the Ukraine is through a new world war. Back in 1959, the notorious führer of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera, declared categorically that "the most radical way" by which all problems facing capitalism can be literally resolved "is a total world war with the objective of destroying Bolshevism" *(Shlyakh Peremohi*, Oct. 23, 1983).

Facts show that during the past quarter of a century literally nothing has changed in the psychology of the OUNites. All Banderite publications assert today: "There remains but one way out of the given situation for the West: confrontation, or outright war with Russia" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, May 1, 1983). And one of the Banderite "ideologues" who died not long ago, the Nazi flunkey and war criminal Lyubomir Rikhtitsky, impotently raved: "We are prepared for war! We are not afraid of the Soviets! May God and fate give us a new, perhaps the last, chance in the upcoming holocaust to prove ourselves..." (*Homin Ukrayini*, June 22, 1983). The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists — as their own press is forced to admit — will never "cease orienting on other forces.., stop serving the interventionists" (*Ukrayinske Slovo*, May 6, 1982).

Despite the self-evident fact that a world thermonuclear war would inevitably destroy civilization, the nationalists stubbornly consider it as being a new "historic chance to gain freedom." They greet each new step that imperialism takes in supercharging the war hysteria with undisclosed glee. The nationalists gloat over the fact that their most odious hopes essentially coincide to a great extent with the foreign policy conceptions of bourgeois governments.

As is known, the leaders of NATO countries, in proving the "need" to step up the arms race, as a rule, refer to the mythical "Soviet military threat," and simultaneously map out new militaristic plans and strategies of the "first strike," "two or three wars," repeating over and over words about "peace from positions of strength." There is nothing new in such statements. In his

time, Karl Marx very eloquently exposed this tactic of the military oligarchy when he wrote: "Of all the dogmas of the bigoted politics of our time, none has caused more harm than the one that says 'In order to have peace; you must prepare for war.' The outstanding feature of this great truth is that it contains a great lie..."

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists of all types repeat and substantiate precisely this dogma because they serve the forces of war and militarism. The notorious thesis of the present American administration that "there are more important things than peace" is interpreted by the nationalists in the following way: "Any further existence of the USSR is of greater danger to the world than a thermonuclear war" (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh,* 1981, No. 2, p. 155). By stressing that a new world war is inevitable, and to justify the insane arms race unleashed by the United States, the nationalist hypocrites assert: "In a few years the American President... will choose one of two things: either to start an atomic war against the USSR or to give way to Moscow" (*Svoboda*, March 6, 1980).

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, by pleading the "need" to immediately unleash a world nuclear war, are amongst those abominable chauvinists and haters of everything Russian who, in the words of Zbigniew Brzezinski — one of their ideologues — openly proclaim: "The Russians are enemies. It is necessary to first and foremost kill Russians." They, in part, advise the Pentagon strategists to concentrate the nuclear blows of a future war on the territory of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The nationalist cannibals state that a supple-

mentary factor "which will raise the destructive might of a nuclear blow is the direction of the winds which for the duration of the entire year should blow in such a way that the first fallout of atomic dust — the most deadly — will fall on the territory where the Russian ethnic population is concentrated" [*Visnik* (Banderite journal — *Author*), No. 11, 1981].

It would be a mistake, however, to consider that only the great Russian people are the object of the impotent hatred of the nationalist counter-revolutionaries. Their relations with the working people of any nation or nationality are imbued with pathological hatred. For example, the rabid enemies of the Ukrainian people — the bourgeois nationalists — discuss most seriously the expediency of dropping atomic bombs on this or that region of the Ukrainian SSR. The nationalist scribblers, without any hesitancy, allege that "the entire Donbas, the Dnieper River valley, Kriviy Rig, Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Kharkiv, and Mikolayiv are so densely concentrated with industry that even a novice strategist would immediately realize that they must be put out of action with the first atomic missiles" (*Ukrayinski Visti*, Detroit, January 17, 1982).

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists justify and defend the most barbaric types of mass annihilation weapons. For example, the Banderite chief Yaroslav Stetsko asserted on the pages of the magazine *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* that "in a modern war NATO will have no chance of winning unless it decides to deploy in Europe the newest neutron weaponry. The neutron bomb... from among all the various types of atomic weapons is the most humane." This nationalist maniac

surpasses all the cannibalistic slogans put out by Goebbels' propaganda machine. According to Stetsko, "the utilization of tactical atomic weapons has nothing to do with the category of total nuclear war. After all, a war in which atomic weapons are used is only a perfecting of methods of the old way of conducting warfare which has become an historic anachronism" (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh*, 1982, No. 3, p. 275). The OUNites are obstinately endeavoring to prove that "development in engineering now shows that such new types of missiles and bombs as the cruise or MX missiles are needed" (*Shlyakh Peremohi*, December 26, 1982).

It is also significant that in questions pertaining to the production and utilization of new types of mass annihilation weapons, the Banderite extremists are fully supported by representatives of all other nationalist groupings, including those of the so-called "democratic trend." One such "democrat" expatiated: "Neutron weapons are designed for annihilating enemy columns; they possess less destructive force when devastating material values, yet, on the other hand, emit considerable radiation which kills people. Since the objective of war is to destroy the forces of the adversary and not edifices, this bomb, therefore, is a much more effective weapon than an ordinary bomb; the opinion that it is 'immoral' is unfounded" (*Ukrayinski Visti*, Detroit, January 17, 1982). And his colleagues insist that the US Congress "pass the initial sum of 180 million dollars for renewing the United States arsenal of chemical weapons," arguing the "absolute need for such weapons" (*Svoboda,* June 30, 1983). The nationalists insist that

the military budget be increased so as to speed up American plans to militarize space, calling it "the most ponderable aspect of the space program since the day it was inaugurated" (*Ukrayinski Visti*, February 12, 1984). The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists consider that it is not only necessary to manufacture, but also immediately put to use, such types of weaponry. "If you want to frighten with such weapons," preached the nationalist author, "then you should not only have the weapons but also be determined to use them" (*Ukrayinski Visti*, Detroit, January 17, 1982).

Apart from their pathological hatred of the Ukrainian people and their desire to annihilate them in a thermonuclear holocaust, such statements by nationalist leaders characterize yet another function which has been relegated to them by the organizers of the "psychological war" against socialism. The thing is that "respectable" bourgeois publications to some extent are concerned about their "reputation" and cannot openly propagandize the most barbaric types of mass annihilation weapons or support insane plans for unleashing a nuclear war. Forced to take public opinion into consideration, they endeavor to conceal their unconditional support of the aggressive policies of the imperialist countries and influence the world outlook of people with more refined methods. In contrast, the organs of the so-called "yellow" (unofficial) propaganda, which come out on behalf of supposedly "private" organizations (to which the periodicals of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists belong), openly proclaim the ideas of the ultra and go farther than the most reactionary representatives of official circles in supporting the

aggressive course of imperialism. Being in a state of deep moral, ideological and organizational degradation, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists, as already noted, count on a thermonuclear war as their last chance to attain class objectives, and in this they find support from imperialist reaction. Herein lies the greatest danger, and it also explains the need to constantly expose the nationalist warmongers.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are also clamoring for preparations to get underway for a future war in which conventional armed forces will be used. They are advocating that, along with the further development of nuclear weapons, preparations of conventional forces of the old type — divisions, tanks, air and sea units — should be undertaken. The Ukrainian ethnic communities in capitalist countries are candidly regarded as being a "cannon-fodder" reserve for the imperialist aggressors. For example, the Sixth so-called Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Banderite) particularly stressed the need to escalate military preparations and the militarization of Ukrainians living abroad for participation in a future war against the USSR. This, undoubtedly, in no measure reflects the interests and aspirations of Ukrainians living abroad. To the contrary, it evokes in them the feeling of aversion for the bourgeois nationalist reactionaries and objectively promotes the sharpening of the crisis that already exists in their midst.

The utilization of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists by the aggressor was always one of the methods used by contemporary reactionary forces in their armed struggles against the

Soviet people. During the Second World War, for example, the nationalists constituted special sub-units of the *Abwehr* and *Wehrmacht*, and they fought on the side of the Nazis in the *Waffen SS Division Galizien* (SS Division Halychyna) and in the bandit formations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukr. Abbr., UPA)...

It should be recalled that in October, 1939, the Nazi High Command began to organize a special forces company for carrying out sabotage and terrorist operations. A year later it was already a regiment which was named *Brandenburg*. It was formed into a division during the war. The *Brandenburg* units were manned by agents recruited from the indigenous population of the country against which the aggression was planned, or from among Germans who fluently knew the language of the adversary. In the winter of 1941-1942, two subversive-punitive units, *Nachtigall* and *Roland*, were incorporated into the *Brandenburg* formation. They were manned by Ukrainian nationalists. These battalions committed unheard of atrocities on temporary occupied territories of the Ukraine. For example, the *Nachtigall* personnel, which the Nazis used when they captured Lviv, made even the Hitlerites who had seemingly become accustomed to everything, shudder at their horrendous crimes. Special *Nachtigall* death squads staged shootings and massacres wherever the *Abwehr* sent these gangs. Their bloody trail led to Zolochiv, Sataniv, Ternopil, Yuzvin, Mikhalpol and Vinnitsya where the OUNite-fascist murderers left numerous victims. Yaroslav Halan had them in mind when he wrote: "In June of 1941, people without a homeland showed what

villains, who make a profession for themselves out of political gangsterism and treachery, are capable of."

Remembering the times when they took part in the fascist genocide, the OUNites again are ready to hang, shoot and torture Soviet people. With barefaced cynicism they "recommended that governments having a large emigration of various nationalities organize military units composed of single national groups from various countries, if the matter pertains to emigration from the USSR or its allies," and "to create under NATO or the Pentagon" a special subversive department to guide them" (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh*, 1982, No. 10, pp. 1208-1209). With undisguised joy the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists welcomed the decision of US ruling circles in 1982 to create as part of the so-called "rapid deployment corps" special commando sub-units composed primarily of anti-Soviet emigrés from socialist countries which would conduct subversive acts on the territory of the Soviet Union and Warsaw Treaty countries.

With the aim of enhancing their "prestige" and "merits" in the "crusade" against communism, the nationalists have launched a campaign to attract Ukrainians into these detachments of professional killers and saboteurs. After all, the majority of the leaders of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist organizations still remember how they once served in similar subunits of Hitler's *Abwehr*...

The Ukrainian nationalists, who traditionally link their hopes to a military intervention by the assault forces of anti-communism against the USSR and other socialist community countries,

openly acknowledge that their plans could be implemented "only in the process of a total third world war... There do not exist any real, logical possibilities for an uprising from within, or any other dissident movement of resistance" (*Noviy Shlyakh*, March 21, 1981).

One of the main reasons for the further sharpening of the crisis in Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism is the unconditional stake it has made on a world nuclear war. This shows its degeneration as a phenomenon, the very existence of which contradicts all logic and common sense. Even the nationalist press is forced to admit this. Nationalist scribblers, by substantiating that the social base of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism is constantly contracting and that the majority of Ukrainians living abroad are withdrawing from nationalist activities, have come to the conclusion that all this was brought on, primarily, by the fact that "our political aspirations are linked to a third world war. Such a war in their (majority of nationalist leaders — *Author*) eyes is the only chance for us to liberate ourselves. The experience of the Second World War has not taught them anything... We should forget about all measures... connected with preparations for some kind of armed conflict on which we had placed our hopes, considering that such a clash between the West and the USSR was inevitable. It is with such hopes that our press encourages" (*Svoboda,* February 23, 1984).

To say the least, such statements in the nationalist press are a rare exception to the rule. The nationalist media are one of the most shameless apologists of the insane foreign policy

course being carried out by the American administration. In order to distract the attention of the public from the growing danger of a military confrontation and justify the militaristic psychosis of the White House, the nationalist publications of various types rehash the old myth about a "Soviet military threat." In explaining its participation in this campaign, one nationalist newspaper cynically wrote: "So that Americans must awaken from their apathy, it is necessary to frighten them" (*Meta*, November, 1981). The nationalist leaders are bending every effort to induce Ukrainians living abroad to believe in the "traditional aggressiveness" of communists, in "Moscow expansionism" and the like. The following thesis runs through all their scribblings: "All the same, peaceful coexistence between the USA and the USSR will not hold out... Reagan's government is conducting a wise policy" (*Svoboda*, September 25, 1981).

However, an ever growing number of people in the West, including people of Ukrainian descent, are beginning to doubt this "wisdom." As some bourgeois publications have noted, the United States in its reaction to Moscow's peace proposals (January 15, 1986) is turning to means which considerably increase the danger of the world sliding towards a nuclear catastrophe. The citizens of western countries are beginning to ask: "How far and for what purpose are we all obliged to clamber up this ladder of absurdity?"

The bourgeois press has somewhat changed its emphasis in view of the mighty growth of the anti-war movement in Western Europe and the United States in the mid 1980s. With all their

might they are trying to disguise Washington's aggressive intentions, and show that there is a "need" for continuing the arms race and the deployment of new American missiles in Europe. With their characteristic demagogy, the nationalists maintain that "whether or not there exists the danger of a third world war breaking out — especially an atomic one — remains very much a question mark" (*Ukrayinske Slovo,* November 29, 1981). Subsequently, there is nothing to worry about the excessive growth of NATO's atomic arsenals. The provocative nature of such insinuations is self-evident. All the more so since such false optimism on the pages of the bourgeois nationalist press is accompanied by the same frank calls for confrontation and war. The nationalists "reproach" the American administration for its straightforwardness on the question of the deployment of first strike nuclear missiles in Western Europe. "Unfortunately," complains a nationalist author, "President Reagan has imprudently hinted that there exists the opportunity of limiting an atomic conflict to the European theater" (*Ukrayinski Visti,* Detroit, January 24, 1982). The nationalists are of the opinion that it would have been better if the question of turning Western Europe into a nuclear hostage of the United States had been broached in a more refined manner.

Growth in the ranks of those who support the peace movement and mutually advantageous cooperation in Western Europe, the United States of America and Canada, and particularly the fact that an ever greater number of people of Ukrainian origin in those countries are joining those ranks evokes the nationalists' savage an-

ger. "The frame of mind of the German (Federal Republic of Germany — *Author*) public can be characterized by such terms as anti-Americanism, pacifism... These sentiments are very strong and growing with every year," is how the nationalist *Svoboda* (November 3, 1981) expresses its dissatisfaction. The nationalist leadership is infuriated over the fact that hundreds of thousands of "Germans, Belgians, Dutch and Italians are taking to the streets, protesting against nuclear war and coming out in favor of peace. These demonstrations are a very sad phenomenon for the West" *(Ukrayinske Slovo*, December 29, 1981). Former Nazi collaborators — who today present themselves as "super patriots" in the western countries which became their havens — are sorry that "Western Europe has not forgotten events of the recent past" when Nazi tanks "established the 'new order' there" *(Noviy Shlyakh,* February 6, 1982). They are "filled with indignation" that "Europe allows hundreds of thousands of pacifists to march along the streets of its capitals in broad daylight" (*Noviy Shlyakh,* February 20, 1982).

Nationalist publications are stepping up their activities in an endeavor (as part of the "yellow press") to convince the public that the arms race is "necessary" and that any disarmament negotiations are "doomed." "Every word in diplomacy becomes particularly weighty," preaches *Svoboda,* "when the world public is certain that weapons can at any moment come to the assistance of the diplomats" (*Svoboda*, August 28, 1981). It is worthwhile noting that two years later the newspaper repeated this thougth almost

word for word. "Part and parcel of the ABCs of political wisdom is the truism that the factor of might is the decisive one... genuine and concrete military force and the readiness to use this force," held forth a nationalist journalist (August 30, 1983). The West needs "a policy from the position of strength, and not negotiations" declare the nationalists. Gloating over the obstructionist position of the United States at the Geneva talks, they state "that these contacts will debunk the hopes and illusions of the possibility of disarmament even amongst the biggest optimists" (*Ukrayinske Slovo,* December 13, 1982).

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists — bitter foes of political contacts and negotiations — back up their arguments in favor of war by feverishly attacking international organizations which come out for peaceful settlements of conflicts that break out among states with different social and political systems. Thus, one of the constant targets for slander by the nationalist propaganda media is the United Nations and its agencies. And here too, the nationalists are at one with Big Business in bluntly taking a hostile position to the working people.

The main argument that Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists use in their attacks on the United Nations is that this organization supposedly "constantly threatens American businessmen," hindering them from openly plundering the natural resources of other countries. The nationalist press greets with slander and insinuation every UN resolution that condemns violation of human rights in Western countries or calls for a stoppage of the arms race. The United Nations' acknowledgement that Zionism is a form

of racism, its expulsion of the racist Republic of South Africa from that organization, the condemnation of the American colonial policy in Puerto Rico, and other progressive resolutions of this world forum incurred the cold displeasure of nationalist ringleaders. "We always strongly doubt," state profusely the chieftains of nationalist organizations, "whether there is a need for the United Nations to exist" (*Svoboda,* November 3, 1981). The nationalist provocateurs repeatedly declare that "the UN is a propaganda forum for the USSR, is of no use to the Western countries, and is where the United States is conjointly attacked" *(Noviy Shlyakh*, October 8, 1983).

The ringleaders of the nationalist counterrevolution also gleefully welcomed the United States decision to withdraw from UNESCO because it fitted in neatly with the anti-communist "crusade." In part, the absolutely fake "exile government of the Ukrainian National Rada (Council)"sent Reagan a "message" on January 14, 1984 in which several dozen decrepit puppets of anti-communism declared that "this action on the part of the American government was very timely and deserves full support" (*Svoboda,* January 19, 1984).

Such provocative acts undoubtedly objectively promote the sharpening of a negative attitude toward the nationalist counterrevolutionaries on the part of Ukrainian ethnic communities abroad.

Another constant target of the nationalist falsifiers is the Soviet Peace Program advanced by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and consequent USSR peace-

able initiatives. With the aim of compromising both the peace program and the initiatives, the nationalist provocateurs maintained that these were "tactical maneuvers" aimed supposedly at covering up the "aggressive objectives of the USSR." Thus, the nationalist *Ukrayinske Slovo* stated: "The proposals, at first glance, seem to be fully correct if... If this had not been but a tactical maneuver so as to once again circumvent the West's vigilance" (*Ukrayinske Slovo*, March 15, 1981).

Not even mentioning what the Soviet peace initiatives are all about, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist press endeavors to falsify their contents and objectives. In its appraisal, the USSR's foreign policy "has a specific task — to hinder in the West the processes" of anti-detente, and this, according to the nationalist obscurantists is the "greatest of crimes" (*Khristyanskiy Holos,* March 15, 1981). They are hell bent on making null and void all the positive results attained in the 1970s in the sphere of lessening world tension, and in casting aspersions on the Soviet Peace Program for the 1980s. For them the Soviet peaceable initiatives represent "a new broad offensive on the United States of America," the aim of which is "to isolate it in this manner and in due time force it to continue the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence" (*Ukrayinske Slovo,* April 25, 1982).

In coming out against the Soviet proposals directed at maintaining peace, the nationalist scribblers sometimes blurt out things that the organizers of the "psychological war" strive to hush up. In part, the way in which the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists seek to disseminate

the myth about the so-called "Soviet military threat" deserves attention. One nationalist publication, in attempting to misconstrue and discredit the pledge taken by the USSR not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, wrote that "for propaganda purposes at the United Nations the Soviets agreed not to attack first with nuclear weapons. This was easy for them to do, and it means nothing because no one believes that they would start a war by hurling nuclear missiles at Europe or America" (*Ukrayinski Visti,* Detroit, August 1, 1982). This periodical had even earlier let this cat out of the bag when it stated: "Nothing threatens Europe from the USSR" (June 6, 1982). And another nationalist newspaper admitted that "there is no doubt that the USSR is not even thinking about waging any kind of war with Western Europe, especially an atomic one" (*Ukrayinske Slovo,* July 24, 1983). These statements show just how much the nationalist provocateurs themselves believe in the "Soviet military threat" which they use to constantly intimidate the Ukrainian ethnic communities abroad. They expose the ugly cynicism of the "big lie of anti-communism."

The bourgeois-nationalist press is also being used by the opponents of detente to discredit personal contacts between the leaders of countries having different social and economic systems. The nationalists try to depreciate the very idea of such contacts, maintaining that previous meetings of the Soviet leadership with Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford "produced nothing but unwarranted hopes" (*Ukrayinske Slovo,* March 22, 1982). The nationalist hypocrites claim that such historically significant agreements as the

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT-1), the curtailment of the testing of certain types of thermonuclear weapons, and so on and so forth as being "unwarranted hopes." It is no wonder then that they were so enthusiastic over the failure of the American side to ratify SALT-2. The Banderite warmongers, in approving Washington's course for rejecting existing and offered treaties and agreements declare: "Only weak countries and states strictly adhere to signed treaties — the strong wreck them at will" (*Homin Ukrayini*, February 24, 1982). They are parroted by representatives of the so-called "democratic" wing of the nationalist counterrevolution. "We approve of American foreign policy when it is a militant one," wrote *Svoboda*, "and we are exasperated when politics lean toward detente" (February 25, 1984).

The fact that the anti-war movement in the United States itself is on the upswing evokes anxiety on the part of the American administration. Thousands of peace champions from California to the Eastern Seaboard have launched a broad campaign aimed at curbing the arms race. They keep demanding that agreement be reached with the Soviet Union on the question of control over armaments. Some American officials are doing their best to see that concrete steps be taken to lessen the war peril.

For example, in early 1982, the legislatures of the states of Vermont, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and a number of others adopted resolutions calling for a moratorium on new types of nuclear weaponry and their deployment on the territories of these states. Hundreds of thousands of American citizens signed petitions for

a freeze on the production of mass-annihilation weapons. Similar resolutions were adopted by the state legislatures of Oregon, Connecticut, New York, Wisconsin, Maryland, Ohio, Minnesota, Kansas, Washington, Maine, and others. As of March, 1983, 341 cities in the United States voted in favor of a freeze on nuclear arsenals. (From: *The New York Times,* March 22, 1983.) Never before had the anti-war movement in the United States become such a tangible political force.

Such a situation enrages the organizers of the anti-communist "crusade" and all "crusaders" from ultra-right organizations. The latter's participation in baiting the peace champions is handsomely rewarded by US special departments.

Just as in the McCarthy days, the bourgeois Ukrainian nationalist hierarchs, in playing the role of professional anti-communists and in carning the money they receive for compromising the peace supporters' movement, keep provocatively accusing the Soviet Union of organizing and financing this movement. The nationalist leaders proclaim that the Communist Parties in the West actively participate in the movement and that they "are Moscow's secret service bases and receive millions of dollars for their activities." These nationalist obscurants interpret "organizing peaceful demonstrations and protests against the delivery of American missiles to West European territories" as being "secret service activities" (*Ukrayinske Slovo,* February 14, 1982). In other words, all completely normal reactions on the part of sober-minded people to the militaristic adventurism of bourgeois administrations are so branded. They declare that

the struggle of millions of honest people the world over is "one of the forms of psychological warfare that the USSR is waging against the West" (*Svoboda,* September 22, 1982). The provocative nature of such statements is borne out by the fact that even the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) — notorious for its odious anti-communism — could not uncover any evidence that Moscow controls the freeze movement (on nuclear weapons — *Author*). (From: *US News and World Report,* April 25, 1983, p.19).

In their attempts to slander the peace champions, to blame them for being "unpatriotic," the nationalist publications begin to panic: "The wave of this peace fever (peace struggle — *Author*) has already surged across the ocean, has also flooded America where certain clergymen are already speaking from their pulpits in favor of peace and against nuclear war, where already in certain states pressure is being put on legislators for them to sanction peace appeals and exert pressure on Washington because it is the center of militarism and atomic danger" (*Narodna Volya,* December 17, 1981).

In view of the fact that thousands of students in more than 150 colleges of 37 states "accuse President Reagan's administration of preparing for war," the nationalist leaders have initiated petty intrigues aimed at hindering this movement. For example, Ivan Ovechko, an active OUNite, had a number of articles printed in the nationalist and bourgeois press which maliciously attacked Professor Ray Knap of Northern Colorado University. His crime? He had come out against the militarization of youth and enjoyed the respect of young peace champions.

The main accusation was that the professor had "dared" to draw the American public's attention "to the danger of an atomic war stemming from the policies of the present American government" (*Noviy Shlyakh,* December 26, 1981).

Most indicative is the fact that not only representatives of progressive communities which favor a realist approach to international problems are the targets of the nationalist hierarchy. With the same zeal the latter endeavors to slander even American bishops (who are far from being sympathizers of real socialism) because they have taken a stand for a freeze on nuclear arsenals. By this gesture, maintains the Banderite newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohi,* the clergymen have proven that they "irresponsibly approach questions pertaining to national and state security, and defense" (December 26, 1982). The nationalists were most active in the persecution campaign that was initiated against the well-known Evangelist-preacher Billy Graham by the most reactionary circles in the United States. In 1982 he had attended the World Conference entitled "Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe" held in Moscow. Upon his return to the United States, he presented a truthful picture of life in the Soviet Union, denied the existence of a "Soviet military threat" and called for the curtailment of the arms race unleashed by the American administration. In part, on May 24, 1982, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists tried to disrupt Billy Graham's sermon to believers in the American city of New Haven where quite a few people of Ukrainian descent live (See: *Shlyakh Peremohi,* August 1, 1982).

The nationalist provocateurs adhere to similar tactics when they declare that the peace committees set up in the USA and Canada are "communist undertakings," wax indignant over the fact that the "population, including Ukrainians, are collecting funds for their activities," and when they call the peace movement "opposition against America and its President" (*Ukrayinskiy Holos, Kanadiyskiy Farmer* and *Vilniy Svit,* January 27, 1982). They accuse those American citizens who recognize the dangerous consequences of balancing on the brink of war of "lacking patriotism and readiness to risk their lives" (*Ukrayinski Visti,* Detroit, November 22, 1981). The mercenaries of the "crusade against communism" howl that the "traditions of the crusading knights of the Middle Ages, who campaigned to liberate the Holy Land from the Islamic infidels, the traditions of the apostles and austere ascetics should be rejuvenated" (*Vyzvolniy Shlyakh,* No. 1, 1983, p. 16). The nationalist "radicals" propose that the methods which they developed while serving bloodthirsty fascism be applied to those who do not wish to rush towards death in a thermonuclear holocaust on the treadmill of a "crusade." For example, the Banderite *Shlyakh Peremohi* recommends that "martial law, including the death penalty" be used against peace champions (*Shlyakh Peremohi,* March 14, 1982). And a similar Banderite periodical in Canada wrote in 1982 that "half of the 1,600 pacifists arrested in the United States should be shot, and the other half put in concentration camps" (*Homin Ukrayini,* June 23, 1982).

These extremist slogans and calls, constant

harangues of the nationalist camarillas in defence of a third world war, and their provocations against fundamental human rights do not find support among the working masses in the West, including people of Ukrainian descent. Thus, in March 1983, the National Executive Committee of the progressive Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (AUUC) adopted an appeal which called on all Ukrainian Canadians, and all Canadian citizens, to unite their efforts in the struggle for peace on earth. The progressive Ukrainian American League is also taking a similar stand. Its president, Leon Tolopko, stressed that the League's members "will give a pledge to constantly cooperate with those organizations and people who are against the evil arms race and who are trying to prevent the outbreak of war." Also, the resolutions adopted at the 32nd Convention of the Lemko Association, which took place in September 1983, attest to the fact that the Ukrainian ethnic communities abroad want peace. Considerable attention is paid in these documents to activating this body within the American peace movement.

This aspiration for peace is also supported by the majority of people of Ukrainian origin living in other capitalist countries. The hostility of the OUNites to man's basic right — the right to life — is one of the major reasons for the further decline of membership in counterrevolutionary emigrant organizations and for the aggravation of the crisis in Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism which, as a social phenomenon, has nothing in common with the interests of the Ukrainian ethnic communities abroad.

MYKOLA HORELOV

THE "POPULAR PRESS" AND ITS MASTERS

In the West, particularly in the United States of America, the press organs of so-called "public" organizations are often called "popular" publications. The periodicals of Ukrainian nationalists living abroad have also lately been referred to as such. What is actually taking place is a substitution of words — "popular" now replaces "yellow." An entire theory has even been created on this subject. Its adherents maintain that this supposedly popular press testifies to the "exclusive democratising" of Western society and the existence of a supposedly "non-class and unlimited freedom of speech." They allege that this press is allowed much more freedom than official publications, and that it seemingly can operate "independently" — "independently" from the generally accepted journalistic canons of the capitalist world.

Such assertions, however, due to the fact that they are obviously farfetched, are often subjected to criticism even by bourgeois political scientists. One of these, John Merrill of the United States, defined the "popular", press in the following manner: "The popular press — the 'hodgepodge press' — calls on the people of the world to play. It does not call upon them to think, to assess, to become concerned, involved or emphatic. Its journalism is splashy, superficial, thoughtless, and tenuous. It is complacent journalism that appeals to self and the status

quo, to mere verbal frolicking about the surface of vital issues... It is vulgar in the truest sense of the word."

In applying what Merill said about the popular press to the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist publications abroad, it should be noted that it truly is a hodgepodge press of rabid anti-communists and remnants of Hitlerite gangs. These elements are endeavoring to whitewash their anti-democratic activities in the eyes of people of Ukrainian descent living abroad, and through fraudulent means attract some of them over to their side and draw them into reactionary activities. The nationalist press is truly insouciant because it is based on the absurd and misanthropic notions of bourgeois nationalism. It calculates upon attaining a psychological effect through slanderous or outright false statements, particularly in relation to the Ukrainian SSR's position in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

If we speak about the "ideological" principles of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist press, then they were expounded by the political theorist of nationalism Dmitro Dontsov in his time. "Our national idea should be constructed on freedom (not on wisdom), on dogmas and axioms (not on attested truths), on independent (not derived at) postulates, on unsubstantiated impulse..." wrote Dontsov in his *Nationalism.* "The driving force of our deeds is personal desire, sentiment and passion, with motives lagging behind." In view of all this, what talk can there be about wisdom or thinking?

The press organs of the Ukrainian nationalists are afraid of comparisons inasmuch as they

would be self-incriminatory. That is why they fabricate, distort, falsify, and completely disregard reality.

Their press is an obliging one because it is a puppet in the hands of the most reactionary circles and fits nicely into the pattern of the neo-fascist and pro-fascist press.

The vulgarity of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist press, in general, needs no commentary. Gossip, fabrications and speculation about non-existent events — that, in the main, is what it goes in for. And as far as its language is concerned, it is neither English nor Ukrainian. Pettiness, cynicism and demagogy hide behind a chaos of thoughts, deductions and unfounded pretentiousness.

The nationalist scribblers themselves, when holding forth about the "independence and classlessness" of their propagandistic rattlings, however, constantly stress their pathological hatred of the socialist countries, of Soviet people, of all realistic-minded democratic forces. "In every concrete case and in the general tendency," maintains the nationalist newspaper *Svoboda* (Jersey City), "it is a question of activity directed against the USSR and against all those elements of international political systems which assist or consolidate its position."

Not so long ago, the late Denis Kwitkowsky, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Melnykite faction), was no less emphatic. He declared, in part, that the nationalist leadership fears most of all proletarian revolutions, and all social transformations that would benefit the working classes.

In general, quite a few works by political scholars have lately come out in western countries in which attempts were made to depict the propaganda machine in the capitalist world as "classless" and "independent." All of them, however, turned out not only to be futile, but also to be the means of bringing about opposite results. This happened because it is objectively impossible to have a classless press in a class society. As a result these very same political scientists, along with their statements, inadvertently substantiated Marxist-Leninist conclusions about the class essence of propaganda, and admitted that standing behind the mass media are monopolies and those who are in power. They are precisely the ones — those standing behind the scenes — who completely determine the ideological and political tendencies of the propaganda machine in the West. And their objectives are absolutely identical. "The two governments," writes the American journalist William Rivers, "— the official government and the national news media — increasingly form part of a single, symbolic union."

It should be mentioned that the anti-communist blindness on the part of the bourgeois and puppet nationalist press leads to evaluations and conclusions which often fully contradict objective realities on the one hand, and common sense on the other. This is most characteristic during periods of acute crises in capitalist society and when imperialism's aggressiveness on the international arena is stepped up.

This blindness often leads to the blinding of significant segments of the population, and cer-

tain situations crop up that might be considered comical, were they not so unduly serious.

Judge for yourself. In September of 1952, the well-known American columnist Joseph Alsop interviewed the owner of one of Ford's automobile agencies. As a journalist, Alsop was interested in who his interlocutor would vote for in the coming elections to the US Congress: for Joe McCarthy, or his opponent L. Schmitt?

The answer was most unequivocal:

"For McCarthy!"

"Why?" asked Alsop.

"The thing is that he exposed all those communists," was the cocky answer from this man who evidently was under the influence of the pro-McCarthy campaign unleashed by the American press and businessmen.

"What communists? Name at least one," implored the newspaperman.

"Dean Acheson," was the reply he received.

"Dean Acheson!" exclaimed the astounded Alsop. "How do you figure he's a communist?"

"If he isn't a communist," said the Ford dealer, "how come he's in jail?"

And this was said about a man who for several years had headed the foreign policy of the United States of America, the Secretary of State of that country...

Is this not the reason why a considerable number of American citizens today believe that there exists a "Soviet threat"? Is this not why quite a few of them justify and praise the United States aggression against tiny Grenada? Is this not one of the reasons why many Americans were not informed about the terrible crimes committed

by the American military in Vietnam? Is it not the anti-communist blindness of the articles published in the bourgeois press that explains why it finds "arguments" which justify the deployment of new American first-strike missiles in Western Europe? How else can the stubborn escalation of Washington's course for transferring military confrontation to outer space be explained? Such questions could be put by the tens and even hundreds, but the essence remains unchanged. In executing the orders from the powers-that-be in capitalist society, the Western press and that of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist emigrants, which are completely dependent on the ruling oligarchy, turn facts upside down or distort them, and do everything that would be of advantage to the bourgeoisie, and would fully contradict the interests of the popular masses, of the working classes.

Such admissions can now and again be found in the speeches and articles of political scientists. One of them, Fred Fedler, stated that Americans did not believe that their officers and men could have committed crimes in Vietnam because "the media had taught them that only the enemy — never Americans — act like barbarians."

Objectivity in the bourgeois and bourgeois nationalist press exists only in words, as a disguise. It is propagated as long as it does not conflict with the interests of the country's ruling circles — the representatives of monopolistic capital.

Nowadays bourgeois and puppet bourgeois nationalist propaganda is in many ways instrumental in fanning militaristic hysteria, in

justifying the arms race, and the new round in the "witch-hunt" which in the United States and Great Britain is manifested in attempts to break up trade unions and ban strikes; in the Federal Republic of Germany — a ban on professions; and in almost all NATO countries — repressions against peace supporters; and so on, and so forth.

The servile nature of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist press abroad, its readiness to serve the most reactionary circles is shown with particular force and emphasis in the apologetic hegemonic aspirations of modern American imperialism, and in Washington's attempts to resurrect the notorious "American Messianism." The gist of the latter is, as Ronald Reagan stated, that the United States is "a special place, because we Americans have always been sustained... by a noble vision — a vision not only of what the world around us is today but what we as a free people can make it tomorrow."

As far as the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are concerned, their interpretation reads as follows: "Everything that is fair for Americans, should likewise be fair for the entire world." They do not simply justify Washington's stake on setting up a *Pax Americana,* with its intrinsic conception of completely ignoring the interests of other peoples and sovereign countries; they do not simply whitewash or praise it. Being part and parcel of the "yellow," neo-fascist press, they present such a policy as "the only possible one," "the wisest," "most humane" and even one that is "blessed by God."

"America has muffed its chance to establish an American world," prattles the Melnykite *No-*

viy Shlyakh (Canada) in connection with the United States "not utilizing" the "opportunity" of destroying the Soviet Union when the USA had a monopoly on nuclear arms. Another nationalist newspaper, *Svoboda*, in viciously criticizing those Americans who support the lessening of international tension, wrote: "The biggest and main weakness of the present (late 1970s — *Author*) American policy is that the United States is voluntarily refusing the role of leader in the world."

And a bit earlier (in the early 1970s), one of the Ukrainian nationalist leaders in the United States, Leo Dobriansky, wrote the following in one of his ultra-racist and chauvinistic books: "It can truthfully be said that America is vested with Providential meaning at this stage of history: it does possess a Manifest Destiny by proving its success in free development at home and creatively contributing the fruits of this success abroad, to every corner on earth."

While stating this, however, the nationalist puppets also locquaciously speak about there being some "danger" to the security of the United States....

Well then, if someone really was threatening, and if the issue actually did concern national security, then there would not be anything special about such words. But the thing is in their use of "security" the nationalists primarily mean the readiness of the USA to deliver a "preventive blow" against the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Treaty countries. Thus, in his time, Lyndon Johnson, as President of the United States of America stated: "There is no American interest in conflict with the Soviet people anywhere."

And here is how that same Dobriansky commented on this statement: "Whoever wrote this for the President should have been fired. Too much is at stake to tolerate such gross incompetence."

In practically every publication, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist propaganda discloses its class affiliation, and shows that it is directed against the interests of the working people. In articles devoted to the topic of domestic life in the capitalist world it advertizes the "merits" of an exploiter society. Because of its narrow world outlook it endeavors to distract Ukrainians living abroad from the grave economic crisis in capitalism, the aggravation of social contradictions within capitalist society, the growth of unemployment and poverty, and from the fact that racism and neo-fascism are on the rampage.

It should be mentioned that a unique system by which the mass media can be purchased has been worked out in the capitalist world. According to this system, those who pay for the upkeep of the press also call the tune. Practically every commercial organization — whether it manufactures automobiles or produces films — has its own propaganda apparatus: periodicals, TV or radio stations. They put into practice the ideas of the exploiter society, the ideas of getting rich at the expense of others. The press of that society is nothing but a puppet in the hands of the ruling fat-cats. On the other hand, the reader will not find articles on the pages of that press which side with the interests of the working people in western countries. The workers are in essence almost completely deprived of any

access to the press, if communist publications are not taken into account.

"Editors," writes the British political scholar John Downing, "rarely allow workers to speak for themselves in the media. In a study I made of 345 news bulletin items on eleven major industrial issues in TV news in 1970, the workers themselves were conspicuous by their near-absence. Despite their involvement they were scarcely even asked their views."

Fred Fedler, who was mentioned earlier, made the following observation: "Advertisers, special interest groups, and highly influential individuals may try to get an embarrassing or unfavorable story killed or altered to suit their own needs." Any attempt to resist these pressures is a very risky undertaking. Thomas Gish, a young journalist of the American newspaper *Mountain Eagle* in Whitesburg, Kentucky, who tried to come to the defense of miners, was attacked immediately by the Ku Klux Klan, and the office where he worked became the target of a terroristic act.

One of Fedler's remarks can unequivocally be ascribed to those publications put out by the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists abroad. Here it is: "Media that are not financially independent are more vulnerable to outside pressures... to survive and retain their independence — they must earn profits."

In the case of the puppet Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist press, its class dependency is manifested in two ways. On the one hand, it is forced to execute the will of the ruling circles of one or another country of residence, and therefore is a strong proponent of Big Business. And on the

other hand, it becomes ever more financially dependent upon the so-called Ukrainian bourgeoisie of those countries, who in turn call the tune where the contents of the publications are concerned as well as the activities of the nationalist organizations.

Let us take as an example *Svoboda,* the nationalist newspaper having the biggest circulation. Being the organ of the financial-credit organization — the Ukrainian National Association (UNA), it basically exists at its expense; and at the same time *Svoboda's* articles — always pro-American and pro-Big Business — reflect the viewpoint of those businessmen of Ukrainian origin who hold the reigns of power in UNA. "Our insurance press," wrote the Trentonbased nationalist bulletin *Nash Holos*, "is timorous insofar as it is afraid of losing insurance policies or arousing the wrath of this or that worldly or clerical dignitary. That is why it either keeps silent or lavishes praise."

An analysis of the latest issues of *Svoboda* shows that its masters follow a policy whereby the nationalist press should be "more ingenious" and "more artful." They consider that propaganda should be conducted in such a way as not to lose UNA insurance-paying members from among the OUNite right-wingers yet not turn away the more or less sober-minded Ukrainian Americans and Ukrainian Canadians, particularly young people. The drama of "discord" between the UNA leadership and the Banderite ringleaders was staged precisely for this reason. However, this in no way reflected on the contents of *Svoboda's* articles — it was and continues to be a newspaper extremely reactionary

and hostile to the Ukrainian working people living abroad.

Lately, instead of traditionally posting former Nazi lackeys to top jobs in *Svoboda* and UNA, persons with identical views but much younger have been assigned these posts. This was done to confuse certain segments of the Ukrainian ethnic communities abroad. However, it should be noted that this was nothing but a sham, because such Hitlerite remnants as Anton Drahan — war criminal and ex-terrorist — have remained at *Svoboda* in an advisory capacity as "honorary editors."

But the UNA hierarchs did not stop there. In their endeavors to befuddle young Ukrainian Americans, they do not permit (or permit to a lesser degree) overt appeals for war and calls to step up the arms race or for the cessation of cultural contacts to appear on the pages of the English-language newspaper *Ukrainian Weekly*. They are afraid that their young readers might misunderstand them. Their calculations are simple: the overwhelming majority of young people of Ukrainian descent in the United States do not know Ukrainian and therefore cannot read the Ukrainian-language *Svoboda* with its misanthropic and warmongering philosophy.

The aim of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist English-language publications, writes an emigré historian, is to educate young people in the spirit of having a positive approach to nationalism, so that when the older generation "collides with the inevitable, their children will be able to continue the work their fathers began."

We would also like to mention that attempts are being made to put out these English-lan-

guage publications in the form and style typical of local English periodicals. But this in no way has any bearing on the articles published in the Ukrainian-language press, the editors of which are one and the same persons. For example, in the Ukrainian-language *Svoboda* one may read the following: "All efforts and endeavors expended till now to solve political misunderstandings and tension peacefully are slowly but consistently becoming exhausted. The only way out of such a situation is to proceed to war." Or, this statement: "In order to bolster United States security, no member of the leading bodies of any organization must, under any circumstances, enter into any contact publicly with Bolshevik representatives. If any organization or member of its leading bodies should have difficulty in evading cultural contacts, it or he must withdraw or renounce all nationalist affiliation."

The specific character of the Ukrainian nationalist press in Western countries also consists of the following: if there is any, even a strictly formal or outwardly appearing (inessential) manifestation of defection from extremist OUNite canons, this is fraught with possible terroristic acts, pogroms in editorial offices, etc. For example, the Chicago-based nationalist newspaper *Ukrayinske Zhyttya* had the audacity to "criticize" the Banderites: the latter immediately organized a genuine pogrom in its offices. In due time, the newspaper itself — after its premises had been repaired and the paper began to come out after its forced interruption — wrote: "Those who broke in may have been potential killers belonging to an extremist political organization. This evidently was the

work of Ukrainian extremists who have perpetrated a series of various crimes that stretch through the years, even back to the time when they were still in the homeland."

It should be stressed that in organizing terroristic acts against the so-called moderate publications of the nationalist press, the OUNite extremists actively resort to terroristic methods acquired while in the service of the Nazis. The OUNite "conservatives," wrote the already mentioned nationalist "honorary editor" Anton Drahan, "are not at all thinking of modernizing their ideological and organizational programs, or leading a peaceful life in a free and civilized world, but continue to practice a life-style which long ago failed to withstand the test of time and reality."

The terroristic methods which the followers of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism resort to in their struggle with rivals, and particularly with their ideological opponents from the progressive Ukrainian press abroad, may be judged by statements made by the well-known Ukrainian-Canadian progressive journalist Peter Krawchuk. He, in part, wrote: "When Ukrainian progressive newspapers and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians began to expose their (nationalist) lies, then all these 'victims' showed their wolfish fangs: they assaulted Ukrainian Labor Temples and strove to terrorize Ukrainian workers and farmers."

There were also other situations when bourgeois nationalist propaganda resorted to terroristic-provocative methods. Here is one such example. During the 1980 Olympic Games at Lake Placid, representatives of nationalist

publications illegally forced their way into the Olympic Games press center and scattered provocative leaflets. However, despite the fact that the city fathers of Lake Placid ostracized them and that there was discreet intervention on the part of the local police, certain circles the following day permitted these Ukrainian nationalists to hold their "press conference" in that very same auditorium which the previous night they had broken into. Moreover, one of the nationalist provocateurs, Bohdan Potapenko, was officially accredited to the Olympic Games at Lake Placid as an "Ukrainian" journalist.

In the light of all this, the attempt by nationalist scribblers to present their activities as fully conforming with the so-called *Journalists' Code of Ethics* boggles the mind. It is simply impossible to think or speak about these criminal elements — former members of the SS hangmen and killers — as having any ethics. It was not accidental that the American journalist Ray Elsmore, when commenting on this *Code,* wrote: "The individual journalist will act ethically to the extent that he himself is an ethical thinking person."

Despite the outward appearance that the bourgeois nationalist press resorts to various methods, the main ones still are disinformation, slander and fabrication. If something even does appear on the pages of nationalist periodicals that resembles "information" or "facts," then this too is so distorted and twisted that in the end all that remains is the same lie. Therefore, it is understood why the nationalist journalist Roman Khomyak wrote: "Our press does not serve truth, but the aspirations and interests of

all kinds of organizations, clerical hierarchies, and so on, and the like." And, in turn, M. Soloviy, an employee of the Uniate "information service" admitted that in the nationalist press "news, events and reports are printed with tendentious comments, twisted and intentionally disembowelled."

A widely used method employed by the Western press is that of hiding the truth from the public by keeping silent about events and facts. As for the nationalist press, the newspaper *Ukrayinske Zhyttya* acknowledged that "they are full of small stories inflated to tremendous proportions. In American life such news items are called 'balloons'. For us, balloons are a tested means of deadening the people's attention, and passing over in silence things which are considered out of bounds."

Talking locquaciously on the topic of "morals" in the nationalist press, the Canadian weekly *Vilne Slovo* ascertained that "...their fellow countrymen are deceived. These scoundrels have lost their dignity to such an extent in deceiving everyone that in due time they themselves begin to believe their lies. In every situation their only inclination is to be obedient servants. The positions they hold, thanks to their thorough elbow work, are used to pursue their false objectives."

The truth hampers them. And in order to conceal it, the nationalist scribblers unleashed a noisy campaign against the cultural contacts of Ukrainians living abroad with Soviet Ukraine. Even in the years when the process of detente was most successful they were against such contacts.

For example, on June 22, 1973 *Svoboda* scoldingly assailed the Soviet-American agreement on cultural exchanges, calling it a serious mistake on the American side. The real reason, of course, was their fear that acquaintance with Soviet reality on the part of Ukrainians living abroad would be a terrible blow to the bourgeois nationalist press which depends on deception. And there is much to fear.

Nash Holos (USA) conducted a poll among Ukrainian Americans at a time when the number of trips being made by Ukrainians living abroad to the Ukraine was on the increase. And here, in part, is what it revealed: "Only ten percent of those polled expressed their satisfaction with the way *Svoboda* is being edited, and 51 percent said they were dissatisfied."

That those nationalists who want cultural contacts to be stopped are afraid of the truth can be ascertained from their own statements. One nationalist editor, Yuri Movchan, wrote: "In all probability it would be hard to find anyone with relatives remaining in the Ukraine who did not want to see them again." He also expressed uneasiness over the fact that in the 1970s tourists from the Ukraine began to arrive in the United States in ever greater numbers. He pointed out that after such visits participation in nationalist activities "lost all importance" for many Ukrainians living abroad. And *Nash Holos* wrote: "Once he was a decent fellow, but after his sister from the Ukraine visited him he became a leftist."

Evidently, the nationalist leaders and ideologues are indeed in a very sad state.

Feeling the weakness of their positions and because of the shakiness of their explanations, the nationalist press in every possible way, particularly of late, try to frighten Ukrainians living abroad with certain "interdictions" that supposedly await them if they visit the USSR, with the "impossibility" of communicating with Soviet people, and other absurdities. Since cultural contacts with the Soviet Union have shown that these fabrications do not have a leg to stand on, the nationalist leaders are speaking out against them with still greater malice. In particular, the nationalist periodicals are directing their attacks on those tourists who, upon returning from a trip to the Soviet Union, make statements that are somewhat objective. For example, the target of their slander became two Americans who several years ago travelled by car through the Ukraine, and in sharing their impressions wrote about "pleasant surprises and wonderful meetings with people." When their car broke down on the road, related the tourists, to their aid "came absolute strangers, who worked a whole hour, fixed everything, and flatly refused any pay for it." The Americans truthfully wrote that probably for the first time they "experienced the pleasure of human relations."

Or, let us take this case: Ivan Ovechko, a nationalist editor, maliciously criticized a member of the Colorado state legislature for making a statement to the local paper about the Soviet people wanting peace after he had visited the Soviet Union. And no wonder! This, after all, was a deadly blow to the old myth about the "Soviet military threat."

Similar attacks are nothing more than an admission that nationalist propaganda is at a loss when confronted with the realities and truths of genuine socialism. By taking the road of wholesale defamation of the USSR's domestic state of affairs, of slandering the peaceable foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state, and by asserting that cultural contacts are "not needed" because they objectively promote the drawing together of peoples on the basis of mutual understanding (i.e., on the basis of truth and not falsifications), the nationalist press in this way acknowledges that its positions in Ukrainian ethnic communities are very insecure.

Be this as it may, the nationalist provocateurs, however, forget one simple truth that may be found in the following folk adage: "With lies you can traverse the whole world; but never to return."

YEVHEN SHEREMET

SOWERS OF HATRED AND HOSTILITY

The leaders of bourgeois nationalist organizations have in recent years stepped up their perfidious activities against the younger generation of Ukrainian ethnic groups in western countries. They are conducting a genuine hunt after young people in an attempt to draw them into their snare.

There are many reasons why this is being done. First of all, this is demanded by the biggest reactionary imperialist circles and special services in the West on whom the nationalist VIPs are financially dependent. They are in dire need of "new knights in shining armor" capable of perpetrating at least something in the "psychological war" being waged against the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

Secondly, the nationalist leadership is desperately trying to find a way out of the crisis and decline in which their organizations find themselves by turning to young Ukrainians. The nationalist propaganda media has admitted that the ranks of the older generation — those who zealously served the German fascists in the 1930s and 1940s — are drastically being depleted and dying out *en masse*. The nationalist camp needs new young blood if it is to continue its existence. In order to survive, it endeavors to impose its tarnished ideas on the young and draw them into their net.

Thirdly, the nationalist elite gambles on the fact that young people, due to the physiological distinctions stemming from their age, are more susceptible to indoctrination. Those who saw nasty and noisy disturbances staged by the Ukrainian nationalists in New York, London, Montreal or Munich, cannot help but have noticed that most of the few participants were young people and juveniles. Poisoned by nationalist ideas, they staged provocative demonstrations near USSR and Soviet Ukraine's missions, international organizations, etc. The young people who participated in these acts of hooliganism evidently did not stop to think that their youthful energy, romanticism and zest for action were being exploited for extremely base, shameful and criminal objectives. For the most part they were unaware that they are being used as pawns for fanning anti-Soviet hysteria and worsening relations between the USSR and western countries which help aggravate the international situation. Also, that these provocative acts were organized to divert the attention of those who participated in them, and those who watched them, from burning domestic issues.

Fourthly, the involvement of young people, especially teenagers, lends these provocative acts an emotional, even sensational touch, which is especially attractive for the western mass media.

Fifthly, the handful of young people taking part in such anti-Soviet undertakings are looked upon by the nationalist chieftains as an "incitement catalyst" in regard to the youth of Ukrainian ethnic communities, as the "van-

guard" and "promoter" of the entire subversive activity of the reactionary emigration.

There is yet another insidious goal being pursued by the nationalists in committing their youth, particularly children, to their anti-communist and anti-Soviet schemes. It is an established fact that most of the present-day leaders or activists of reactionary emigrant groupings cooperated very closely with the Nazis during World War II and perpetrated numerous hair-raising atrocities against the Ukrainian people in general and the younger generation in particular. Naturally, today's provocative rumpus stirred up by these former Nazi lackeys evokes the indignation of the democratic public in the West and is condemned by progressive circles of the Ukrainian communities there. On top of everything else, it places the ruling circles of their countries of residence in a most embarrassing position. In order to remove this stigma, the nationalist bigwigs have come up with a cunning plan: why not use the brainwashed younger devotees as instruments for carrying out their anti-Soviet provocations? This is precisely the context in which the following "instructive" statement, made by the nationalist newspaper *Nova Zorya,* should be interpreted: "All our protests and, in general, our entire activity (i.e., that which is directed against the forces of peace, democracy and socialism — *Author*) must be conducted by those who belong to the younger generation and therefore cannot be labeled as 'collaborators' or blamed for other such sins."

As may be deducted, for the Ukrainian nationalists these youngsters are only a tool for

attaining their narrow-class goals. "The teenage youth has become an instrument manipulated by the older generation," admitted Oleh Ilnitsky, former head of the nationalist student community in New York.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists want to make the best possible use of all those misled or deceived young men and women in their subversive ideological warfare against Soviet Ukraine, her people and her youth. Taking into account that the Soviet people well remember the bloody crimes committed by the former Nazi flunkies, the nationalists count on representatives from the younger generation to do their dirty work for them. For example, one resolution from the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) reads: "Ukrainian youth abroad should approach their counterparts in the Ukraine, using all the radio stations available to us, as well as by preparing appropriate programs for them — i.e. those meant to be transmitted to the Ukraine."

In bending backwards to please imperialist circles and accomplish the tasks placed before them by the western secret services, the ringleaders of reactionary emigrant organizations endeavor to conduct their subversive activity also on the territory of the USSR with the help of those misled, deceived boys and girls. Shameful and criminal assignments are given to those members of the nationalist youth organizations who travel to the Ukraine as tourists: the dissemination of subversive literature among Soviet people, the slandering of our social system, the spreading of ideas of war and national animosity, and so on. In other words, while in

the Soviet Union they are to conduct activities that are definitely hostile to the interests of the Soviet people. It is worthwhile noting here that a number of similar tourists were brough to account for these activities and expelled from the Soviet Union. For example, this disgraceful fate befell Yaroslav Dobosh and Andriy Klymchuk — members of the neo-fascist Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) — and other such nationalist emissaries.

The nationalist upper crust have always looked upon the youth who fall into their snare as being a commodity on which it might earn a good profit. It is from among such young people that the imperialist intelligence services recruit their agents. Fedir Bidnyk, one of the former leaders of OUN who decided to break away from the nationalist camp, admitted the following: "They have never hesitated in spending money on this. It is very clear that these traders make a handsome profit on every so-called commodity they sell. This explains why the OUNite atamans are engaged in such severe rivalry, each trying his hardest to prove that his personal influence on the younger generation will prove the greatest, that he will succeed in recruiting the largest number of persons willing to master the profession of spy."

All this shows that youth was and still is, for the nationalist elite, a tool to be manipulated and used for conducting subversive acts, a means for securing the interests of imperialist reaction and attaining their self-seeking goals.

In stepping up their hunt for young people, the nationalist bigwigs frantically keep trying to poison their minds and draw them into their

net. "We must extend our influence upon the largest possible number of young people," declares the Banderite newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohi.* In order to attain this insidious objective, the nationalists use their periodicals, schools, organizations, etc. "We don't have combat divisions as yet," wrote the nationalist newspaper *Ukrayinske Zhyttya,* "but we possess an excellent weapon which is deadlier than poisonous gas, conventional or incendiary bombs or infantry corps. It is our truthful word which is written down and spread by a good Ukrainian publicist."

Who are these "good publicists" and what "truthful words" do they spread, particularly among the younger generation?

Quite a few of them received their training and experience while working in the Nazi propaganda apparatus. Today they attempt to poison the minds of young people with their nationalist notions. For example, Volodimir Yaniv was formerly an official staff member in Dr. Goebbels' propaganda machine. During World War II, in Berlin, with the help of his "truthful word," he tried to deceive the Ukrainian boys and girls, who had been forcibly shipped to the Third Reich, into bending their backs for the Nazi masters and joining the *Wehrmacht.* At the same time, he "studied" the mentality of Soviet inmates in POW camps, for which he received from the Nazis a "Doctor of Philosophy" degree. Presently this war criminal, who holds the post of rector of the so-called Ukrainian Free University in Munich, is engaged in the nationalistic brainwashing of students.

Then there is the notorious "Professor" Volodimir Kubiyovych, "mentor" and "friend" of youth. During WWII this war criminal was assigned by the Nazis to organize the "recruitment" of Ukrainian boys and girls for slave labor in Germany. In January 1942, the nationalist newspaper *Ridna Zemlya* joyfully reported that Kubiyovych had been personally congratulated by Governor General Hans Frank and presented with a New Year's gift — "a large sum of monev." One year later — in January 1943 — he was again (for the umpteenth time!) received by Frank. Kubiyovych himself recalls this in his memoirs *Meni 70* (I am 70) which were published in Paris in 1970. He emotionally reports that "Frank greeted me warmly" at the reception, "embraced me," and "presented me with his portrait" and "a full case of vodka."

It is inconceivable that a normal person would brag about being on friendly terms with such a war criminal as Hans Frank. This was the same Hans Frank who had a pathological hatred of Slavs and Jews, who did his utmost to see to it that they would be exterminated. Yes, this was the very same Hans Frank who was sentenced to death by the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg after the war. And it would seem that only a madman would recollect that he had received several bottles of vodka for being instrumental in the suffering and death of several hundred thousand Ukrainian boys and girls. All the more so, if we take into account that Kubiyovych presently edits various types of "encyclopedias on Ukrainian studies," including those put out for young people of Ukrainian descent. It would seem that he was pulling the rug

from under his feet. But this is not the case, because the absolute majority of young people of Ukrainian origin living abroad have never heard of the memoirs of this Nazi collaborator, let alone having read them: they were written exclusively for his companions-in-treason-and-crime, as well as for the new masters — heads of imperialist intelligence services. His aim was to brag before the former and prove to the latter his ability to sell people, and cheaply at that — for only a couple of bottles of vodka.

This disgraceful list of "good publicists" could be continued. Quite a few of their kind found shelter in the West after the war. There they took over nationalist newspapers and magazines that were published even before WWII. They also founded new periodicals. All of them are published on money financed by influential reactionary circles and special services in the West, a fact which the nationalist ringleaders themselves blurt out from time to time.

The nationalist publishers are fully dependent on the handouts they receive from imperialist reaction and its special services and it is the latter that determine the character and basic policies of the periodicals. Their personnel — all those former Nazi henchmen — decide the main principles and methods of their propaganda. Due to these two factors, contemporary nationalist publications, including those put out for youth, have become instruments for brainwashing, and spread anti-communist, anti-Soviet, fascist, neo-Nazi, militaristic, aggressive, racist and chauvinistic propaganda.

The nationalist journalist Andriy Bilinsky acknowledges that the nationalist press "spreads

gossip" and that it generally "conducts stinking and hissing propaganda." As for the nationalist publicists, they are depicted as "semi-intelligent graphomaniacs, amateurish hacks and ignoramuses" who "try to awaken the basest, most brutal instincts in the citizenry."

That is the full collection of the Goebbels-like means and methods for brainwashing youth. That is who the "good publicists" are. Such is their "truthful word."

A significant role in the ideological brainwashing of young people is relegated by nationalist leaders of the reactionary emigration to the so-called "Ukrainian study schools." They began to appear in the 1950s — at the height of the cold war period. Since then their teaching staff has included former Nazi lackeys. Roman Ilnitsky, an OUNite, states in his book *Mission of Ukrainians in America* that such collaborators make up 80 percent of the instructors at such schools. Most indicative is the fact that only 3 percent have a pedagogical education. Former Nazi collaborators also manage to worm their way into the parish schools which were founded by the Ukrainian churches early in the 20th century.

Nationalist propaganda is doing its best to present these "Ukrainian study schools" as bastions in the struggle against denationalization," as "citadels of the Ukrainian language, culture," etc. The nationalists apply this camouflage because a certain part of the younger generation genuinely wants to study the language, history, and literature of their forefathers. And in this way the nationalist elite hopes to profit by the young people's sincere desire to know

more about the immensely rich cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people.

As a matter of fact, the nationalist hierarchy has never been genuinely interested in preserving the Ukrainian language or culture in countries where the Ukrainian emigration settled. According to certain nationalist periodicals, OUNite functionaries managed to spend 114,000 dollars — out of the money wheedled from the parents of students attending such schools for one academic year — on provocative anti-Soviet campaigning, but only several hundred dollars on actual school needs. Today this fraudulent practice is particularly widespread, and not only in the United States but in other countries as well. It was not a coincidence that the nationalist newspaper *Noviy Shlyakh* urged the leaders of reactionary organizations to "stop regarding these Ukrainian schools as their private property where one could behave like a despot" and to stop using them as a "means of slipping a few more dollars into their own pockets."

All these "Ukrainian study schools" cannot provide their students with any positive knowledge. As Roman Ilnitsky put it, their teachers "lack even the most elementary knowledge about the history, literature and geography of the Ukraine, etc." What is much worse, they deliberately distort the Ukrainian people's past and present-day history. The only thing which the teachers at these "Ukrainian study schools" are capable of doing well is to poison the children's minds with nationalist notions, inculcate in their souls the malice and hatred which they themselves feel toward the Soviet people, and nour-

ish in the young a craving for revenge, for vengeance.

Besides, the students will not find truthful information in textbooks written by nationalist authors. For example, the *New First Reader* by Ivan Shklyanka, which has been reprinted almost a dozen times in the United States, provocatively asserts: "Today the Ukraine is enslaved. Living there are your brothers and sisters. We shall come to their aid when we grow up." Another case in point is Yevhen Zharsky's *Geography of the Ukraine.* This textbook is most "impressive" not only for the staggering amount of factual errors and inaccuracies it contains, but also for its malicious lies. Apart from other nonsense, the author claims that the Ukraine is currently being subjected to some "exploitation," and that she has a "colonial status." The frontiers of the Ukrainian SSR are incorrectly shown. Added to its territory are territories belonging to the Russian, Byelorussian, Polish, Rumanian and other peoples. As far as history textbooks are concerned, we shall limit ourselves to an acknowledgement made by the nationalist author Ivan Kuzych-Berezovsky. In his book *Woman and the State* he concedes: "We write transparent lies and distort facts in our history books, and use them to educate our youth."

Deep-rooted chauvinism and nationalism are propagated on the pages of textbooks used by the "Ukrainian study schools," and the crimes committed by the nationalist upper crust against the Ukrainian people and youth during WWII are glorified. Young people of Ukrainian origin living abroad are taught "heroic" versions of the atrocities committed by nationalist functionaries.

A great deal of emphasis in these nationalist textbooks is also placed on fanning hostility and hatred against the cause of peace and progress, against the Ukrainian people, and against working people in general. Such textbooks are geared not only to poison the minds of young people, but also to mold their mentality in such a way as to make them become participants in anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaigning. The authors of a whole series of textbooks openly call on the students to carry out anti-Soviet acts, to send libelous leaflets to international organizations, to organize disturbances outside Soviet missions, etc. Often, junior graders are taken from their classrooms during school hours — without the consent of their parents — and forced to take part in anti-Soviet provocations.

The nationalists do not merely restrict themselves to writing "new" textbooks for youth of Ukrainian descent. They attempt to "organize reviews of libraries in the countries of residence, and of their encyclopedic publications," in order to check the "correctness" of information provided on the Ukraine, and by further cooperation with corresponding bodies in those countries exclude all objective information from their libraries. Also, they plan to conduct a "revision" of those textbooks used in the public educational establishments of capitalist countries which contain some reference to the Ukraine.

In this insidious way the nationalist inquisitors of the 20th century are endeavoring to deprive young people of Ukrainian descent who live in capitalist countries of even that meager objective information — often incomplete and

inexact — about the Ukrainian people's past and present which may be found in liberal bourgeois publications. They are afraid that even such information will encourage young people to search for the truth and obtain answers to those questions which the nationalist press either keeps silent about or distorts.

The result of these disgraceful undertakings by the nationalist leaders is that the boys and girls who attend "Ukrainian study schools" are developing an inferiority complex. Here is what the already mentioned Roman Ilnitsky writes in this regard: "Young people who graduate from these schools will have an inferiority complex in relation to everything that is Ukrainian for the rest of their lives."

The "Ukrainian study schools" also fail to give their students a true picture about the past and present of the peoples in the countries where Ukrainian ethnic groups live. Roman Ilnitsky admits that their teachers "do not know, or know very little about, American literature, culture and history." That is why, he concludes, their students "emerge from our schools having little respect for either the United States or the Ukraine."

In organizing the "Ukrainian study schools," the nationalist elite had planned to enroll in them if not the entire youth of Ukrainian parentage, then at least the greater part. They, however, did not succeed even in this. According to nationalist sources, the number of pupils enrolled never exceeded 3 percent of the children of school age in the United States of America, and 5 percent — in Canada.

Having suffered a tangible defeat in creating a broad network of "Ukrainian study schools," the nationalist leadership began to take over parish schools. Quite a number of former Nazi henchmen wormed their way into the schools where "Ukrainian study" subjects are taught. There too brainwashing of youth in the militaristic and chauvinistic spirit was stepped up. This became one of the main reasons for the decline of this type of school as well.

The nationalist ringleaders understand only too well that the salvation of their groupings depends directly on expanding their youth and student organizations. In this connection the ways and means by which boys and girls of Ukrainian origin are lured into nationalist organizations should be noted.

First of all, the nationalist chieftains try to draw into their net the offspring of Ukrainian emigrants at an early age. Children between the age of four and six become members of such reactionary youth organizations as the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM — abbreviation from the Ukrainian name), Ukrainian Boy Scouts and Girl Guides (PLAST) and the Association of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent (ODUM). Needless to say, at such an early age they do not even know about the existence of the above-mentioned organizations, have not even an inkling about their nature and aims. The nationalist leaders leave no stone unturned in getting parents to register their children in these reactionary organizations. According to the magazine *Ukrayinskiy Samostiynik,* the members of nationalist organizations "are sim-

ply commissioned to register children in local troops of SUM."

Nationalist propoganda endeavors to persuade parents that their "basic duty" is to open for the child the door to youth organizations. These organizations, for that matter, are depicted as being "non-party" and "educational," and which supposedly are primarily concerned with the interests of the children, parents, and even that of the nation. Thus, PLAST is supposedly concerned over the child's health, fosters "conscientiousness," trains them in doing "good deeds," stimulates them to get excellent marks at school, and develops their intellectual faculties. SUM supposedly is called upon to bring them up as "genuine knights," righteous young men and women, individuals who are devoid of egoism and ambition but ready to come to the aid of children, women and senior citizens. To make a long story short, the nationalist upper crust plays upon the finest feelings and desire on the part of parents for their children to grow up and become decent human beings.

Nationalist propaganda also plays on the patriotic feelings of both parents and children — on their natural desire to get to know the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people. The nationalist culture-mongers strive to convince parents that they are not bringing up their children as "good Ukrainians" if they do not "permit" them to attend meetings of youth organizations. And here the chieftains have in mind only such organizations as SUM, PLAST, and ODUM which are depicted as "bastions of denationalization," where children seemingly are acquainted with the cultural attainments of

the Ukrainian people, learn their history, culture, language, etc.

The OUNite "tempters," of course, conceal the fact that members of SUM, PLAST and ODUM do not learn the history of the Ukrainian people but the biographies and disgraceful deeds of traitors and butchers of the Ukrainian people from the times of Hetman Mazepa to Stepan Bandera inclusively. Also not advertised is the fact that the members of the above-mentioned youth organizations for the most part utilize the language of the country they live in rather than Ukrainian. It is true, however, that lately nationalist leaders have begun to speak out in favor of the Ukrainian language being used to a greater extent by the wards of the youth organizations. This is due not so much to a genuine concern for preserving the Ukrainian tongue but for luring young people into these organizations and holding on to them. The nationalist newspaper *Ukrayinske Zhyttya* candidly wrote that attention need not be paid to the language if the boys and girls "should enter public or political life."

Agitation on the part of the young soul-snatchers is made easier because a certain part of youth, including those of Ukrainian descent, become disillusioned with the shameful realities of bourgeois society and help swell the ranks of criminals, alcoholics and drug addicts. The nationalist leaders do not conceal the catastrophical dimensions which addiction to alcohol and drugs on the part of youth has reached. On the contrary: they endeavor to frighten the already worried parents that the entire younger generation of the Ukrainian emigration will "fall vic-

tim to this terrible social disease." At the same time they stress that it is only by belonging to nationalist youth organizations that young people "will not be bitten by the enticements of their demoralized coevals, who are devoid of principles, and that the possibility of them being poisoned by drugs is negated." Naturally the aim of the nationalist articles against alcohol and drug habits is for parents to send their children to youth organizations.

The nationalist elite tries to utilize youth's natural attraction to everything unusual, heroic and romantic — things which cannot be manifested in a society based on profiteering and bureaucracy. "The inclination of young people for the romantic and heroic should be utilized by us (nationalists — *Author*) for our own needs and objectives," instructed SUM's organ, the magazine *Avangard*.

Taking advantage of the fact that there is a shortage of swimming pools, stadiums and summer camps, and that the cost of sending a child to the latter is extremely high in capitalist countries, the nationalist chieftains "hospitably" opened the doors to their camps. The goal they pursue is clear from a statement made by the editors of *Avangard*: "Sport should be put on a proper footing so as to attract young people to our organizations." In due time, those boys and girls who wanted only to go in for sports or simply relax at these camps discover they were enticed into a nationalist trap.

Utilizing the financial and moral support of the imperialist special services, the ringleaders of reactionary emigrant organizations constructed a network of youth organizations. Ac-

cording to nationalist data, at the beginning of the 1980s they amounted to some 30 mini-organizations, and the total membership barely reached 20,000. The latter figure should be considered as being somewhat inflated because one and the same person may belong to two or more such organizations. Also, in recent years the number of organizations and their membership have considerably dropped. We shall now deal with this "problem."

The most reactionary of these organizations are SUM and PLAST. Most of their members are the offsprings of former Nazi henchmen. At the helm of all the sub-units of SUM and PLAST stood and still stand such decrepit old men and war criminals as Omelyan Koval, Yevhen Pobihushchy, Yaroslav Deremenda, Lev Futala and others.

This list of former Nazi lackeys could be continued, but there is no need for this. Another aspect is more worthy of noting: influential circles in the capitalist world are well informed about the Nazi past of the present leaders and "educators" of SUM and PLAST, whom the Banderite newspaper *Homin Ukrayini* nicknamed "celebrated Ukrainian Pestalozzi" (sic!). Even the American newspaper *The New York Times,* which in no way can be suspected of pro-Soviet sentiments, once printed a list of 37 persons who were accused of cooperating with the Nazis and of having murdered thousands of persons. On this list was Lev Futala — a lieutenant in the bloodthirsty gangs of the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which the newspaper referred to as the "Ukrainian Fascist Army."

Nobody, however, prosecuted him, nor any of the other war criminals, or even prohibited him from poisoning the minds of children. In disclosing a "secret" that long ago stopped being a secret, *Newsweek* magazine wrote that many of the former Nazi henchmen "had done a lot of work for the CIA" and that that was why the latter had taken them under its protection.

Besides, the nationalist leadership and its youth organizations were not only supported and financed by imperialist intelligence agencies, but also by influential circles in capitalist countries. For example, when "congresses" of SUM and PLAST are organized, they receive "salutatory" letters and telegrams from certain ultra-reactionary members of the US Congress, British and Canadian members of parliament, etc.

Governmental circles in bourgeois countries do not limit themselves only to providing moral support to nationalist youth organizations. The Canadian government, for example, has been financing these organizations since the mid 1960s. According to the Banderite newspaper *Svoboda,* the nationalist youth and student organizations in Canada annually receive government grants amounting to almost 150,000 dollars. The US Government began to openly finance SUM and PLAST since 1973. That year these two reactionary organizations received 18,000 dollars. These are incomplete figures. Perhaps no one will ever admit the total amount of the handouts they receive both openly and secretly. The nationalist media rarely mentions this and still more rarely names specific figures. It has good reason for withholding the true

facts. After all, the money comes from the pockets of ordinary taxpayers and is taken out of those insignificant funds originally earmarked for social needs. This money is wasted on campaigns hostile to peace and the interests of those countries settled by the reactionary emigrants.

Why have the nationalist youth organizations become the pets of the imperialist ultra? Primarily because of the essence, nature and tendencies of their activities. As *Homin Ukrayini* acknowledged, PLAST and SUM are "paramilitary organizations and not a game of playing school." *Vilne Slovo,* another nationalist newspaper, asserted that they are "anti-communist and anti-Soviet organizations." The emigrant magazine *Novi Obriyi* defined them as being "OUNite Hitler Youth" organizations.

The nationalist leaders have placed several basic tasks before SUM and PLAST. Firstly — to educate their members in the pro-fascist spirit; secondly — to draw them into being active participants in anti-communist and anti-Soviet activities; thirdly — to give them specific know-how in the art of spying and subversion.

During their internment at "DP" camps in West Germany, the OUNite ringleaders defined their "educative ideal" and methods of fostering it. In early 1948, the nationalist magazine *Studiya* wrote in this respect: "People who are good, humane, noble, good-natured and honest do not interest us nor are they worthy of our attention. This category of people is worthless to us and not suitable for our plans. To our way of thinking they are good-for-nothings — empty people. We are interested in sons-of-bitches — a category of people ready for anything. Essen-

tially we should imitate the Hitlerite fascist methods, fearless of what people will say but having the courage to accept the fact and openly admit we are indeed fascists."

At the present time, just as in the 1930s, the OUNite leaders, as reported by the nationalist magazine *Nashe Slovo* "are reprinting the works of Dmitro Dontsov which have become standbys in fascist ideology." And they readily thrust this ideology on boys and girls of Ukrainian descent. Today some two dozen nationalist youth magazines and more than fifty newspapers are conducting a frantic fascist and neo-fascist propaganda campaign. And like the entire reactionary emigrant press, they are financed by the imperialist special services. Children, who do not even know how to read, are inculcated with misanthropic ideas during "friendly" chats and talks. They are made to memorize by heart absurd anti-communist and anti-Soviet stereotypes and slogans. One SUMite member recollected on the pages of *Avangard:* "We — young SUMites — had to mechanically repeat this long slogan (another anti-Soviet slogan — *Author*) as if it were an obligatory daily prayer. We did not think about its meaning, nor did we try to understand it."

One can entirely agree with the conclusion which the "moderate" nationalist newspaper *Ukrayinske Zhyttya* made. In July 1977 it wrote: "The demonic stature of Dmitro Dontsov not only at one time darkened the Ukrainian horizon in the homeland with its dirty shadow; till this day the latter falls sinisterly on our emigrant community and threatens to poison particularly the younger, upcoming generation. Contempora-

ry youth does not even realize that it often finds itself already in the snare of that (OUNite — *Author*) environment which infiltrates youth organizations and various holiday 'courses' in various places where, under the appearance of pleasant entertainment of going in for 'sports,' young heads are crammed with Dontsovite nationalism." Comment in such cases is not required. We should only like to add that the process of further fascist indoctrinization has also taken a firm hold in other nationalist youth organizations.

Operating under the aegis of SUM and PLAST are the so-called summer camps where young people are trained to become mercenary hangmen and killers. The nationalist media tries to convince both parents and children that these camps are supposedly the best place for relaxation, for improving one's health, for expanding one's knowledge of the Ukraine's history, literature and customs, for mastering the Ukrainian language, etc. To put it lightly, such assertions have nothing in common with reality. "Some ten years ago," recollected one nationalist roughneck on the pages of *Ukrayinske Zhyttya,* "I attended the SUM camps... and even then the English language was heard there, but the leaders pretended they were unaware of it." However, sometimes Ukrainian is heard at the camps, but with a heavy German accent. It is used by the OUNite leaders and "educators" — former Nazi mercenaries.

A frequent guest speaker at the camps was the "itinerant spiritual tutor" Ivan Hrynioch, former chaplain of *Nachtigall* — Nazi-Banderite battalion of killers — and bearer of a Hitlerite

Iron Cross. And Yevhen Ren (Pobihushchy), who was a leader of a Nazi battalion, to be more precise the *Roland* — smithy of death — and an officer in the terrible SS Halychyna Division *(Waffen SS Division Galizien),* worked to the sweat of his brow in the camps. Constantly seen at the camps was Lev Futala, a junior officer of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army's bloody gangs, and many other war criminals. Lately, however, a new generation of "educators" have begun to appear at the youth camps. They are those who, in the ranks of the American army, sowed death and destruction in Vietnam. For example, the periodical *Avangard* excitedly informed its readers that working with campers is "Volodimir Stepanyak — young hero of the Vietnam battles." This butcher of the Vietnamese people received from the American government and its former Saigon puppet regime fifteen orders and medals for the crimes he committed.

The Ukrainian Soviet poet Dmitro Pavlychko, in exposing the true face of the leaders of OUNite camps, wrote: "Your teachers are not heroes but ordinary killers and swindlers."

As the nationalist newspaper *Homin Ukrayini* reported, the educational program at those camps "includes hikes, lessons in cartography, first aid and hygiene, signalling, field games, swimming, sport..." Most symbolic is that all classes are held in sub-units which brings to mind the sub-units of the notorious UPA. They are even named after them!

Knowing the ABCs of sambo and karate is obligatory at these camps, and at some — the art of handling firearms. Matters have gone so

far that even some bourgeois officials are perturbed. As reported by the Australian press, the police of that country had to initiate an investigation of "Ukrainian military training" in which firearms were basically used. But this, perhaps, was the only case in which an investigation was called. Ruling circles not only simply look through their fingers at the dangerous activities of the OUNites but also generously finance them.

The OUNite elite does not restrict their activities only to instilling the youth with a craving for bloodshed and trains them to become killers. They go to great pains also in conditioning the young people for death, for them to die without any hesitation or thought. As *Homin Ukrayini* once bragged, the training at these camps is conducted under the deceitful slogan "you will gain the Ukrainian state or die in the struggle for it." It should be remembered that this slogan is the first commandment of the so-called *Ten Commandments (Decalogue) of the Ukrainian Nationalist,* borrowed by the nationalists in the 1930s from the *Ten Commandments for National Socialists* which Dr. Goebbels had composed personally.

The nationalist leadership is spending much time and effort in convincing young men to join the armed forces of capitalist countries. They cajole the youth into joining the army, praising the "merits" of a military career, and so on. The nationalist youth magazine *Smoloskip* — an organ of PLAST — wrote that young people of Ukrainian descent "should enter the service of alien armies so as to master the practical aspects of warfare."

By lauding service in the army, the leaders of nationalist organizations dream of training many future hangmen and killers from among the youth that are under their spell. These roughnecks are told they should wait for the "right opportunity" so as to arrive in the Ukraine in the train of an aggressor. "Perhaps our youth (those nationalistically inclined — *Author*) will be lucky (sic!) in applying its military knowledge under the yellow-blue flag?" pathetically asks *Smoloskip*. And further on, this magazine stresses that in preparing for the "decisive armed reprisal" against the Soviet people, a reprisal which "will occur," a "responsible role will be played by today's youth."

That such insane and cannibalistic plans do exist is corroborated by other periodicals. For example, the magazine *Novi Obriyi* wrote: "In all seriousness certain people (OUNite leaders — *Author*) have proposed that right now there should be created so-called 'strike brigades' from among the emigrant youth, that they should be trained extensively, given weapons and even unleashed on the Ukraine." And the nationalist newspaper *Batkivshchyna* stated: "...Many long years of solid training are required in order to create an armed force which at a favorable moment would be ready for action on Ukrainian soil."

This is the way the hierarchy of anti-Soviet emigrant organizations dreams once again of war, banking on foreign bayonets, and threatening the Ukrainian people with a "decisive armed reprisal." According to their mad schemes, the youth of Ukrainian descent that has fallen into

the nationalist trap will take part in this "reprisal."

One of the typical features of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism is that its doctrine has always been, and continues to be, appreciated by the world's most reactionary forces. In turn, the latter lend it their postulates and techniques for luring the younger generation into its net. The nationalist newspaper *Vilniy Svit* admits: "It is the Gospel truth: we are in danger of drifting toward alien forces, ideologies, etc. Possibly this will turn out to be just another *ism* which some of us transfer from a strange environment and graft it on our own flesh." One such *ism,* apart from the foregoing fascism already mentioned, has currently become Zionism, and specifically its deceitful concepts of a "world Jewish nation," "dual patriotism," etc.

One of the reasons why these Zionist postulates are being borrowed is that the crisis within the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism is continuing to grow worse. Besides, the Zionist "world nation" notion is viewed by the nationalist leaders as a tool adequately designed to subject the younger generation to nationalistic brainwashing. And finally, the praising and even borrowing of Zionist notions is one form through which the nationalist "hierarchy" flirts with international Zionism in the hope of receiving additional handouts from it as well as from imperialist reaction, whom both serve loyally.

The OUNite leadership has gone to great pains to spread its concept of a "world Ukrainian nation," which it borrowed from the abovementioned unsubstantial and reactionary Zionist conception. The most active of its propaga-

tors are: the former Nazi collaborator Roman Rakhmanny (Oliynik), today the "ideological mentor" of PLAST, and Bohdan Stebelsky — SUM's "chief educator."

Both nationalists claim that all Ukrainians, notwithstanding country of residence or class affiliation, are "united" and "preserved as a nation" by their common language, creed, culture and traditions. Apart from all this, such people are, allegedly, brought together by their common destiny, spirit, goals and blood.

All this gives grounds to state that the above-mentioned conception is unscientific and reactionary. After all, a nation is known to be an historical form of a community of people, distinguished by the durability and unity of its economic life, by its territory, language and national character which are manifested in the peculiarities of its culture and daily life.

The working people of Soviet Ukraine constitute the socialist Ukrainian nation. They have their own territory and state system; their own culture which is socialist in content, national in form and international in spirit and character. They have their own language, their own revolutionary and labor traditions. At the same time, they belong to a new historical community of people — the Soviet people, which came into being in the USSR during Soviet times.

The allegation that all persons of Ukrainian descent living in the West belong to a "world nation" of some kind or other is just as incorrect as it is reactionary. First of all, these people are spread throughout almost 20 countries, so any community in terms of economic life or territory is out of the question. Secondly, most

of them use the language of their country of residence (i.e., English, German, French, etc.). The Canadian researcher Olga Wovchenko referred to the third and fourth generations of Ukrainian Canadians when she wrote that "English is their first and only language." Nor can a religious belief be used as a convincing argument in debating the credibility of a "world Ukrainian nation." People of Ukrainian origin belong to different religious denominations. And on the whole, many of them are non-believers.

Aware of the fact that their argumentation is shaky, the nationalist leaders try to reinforce their allegations artificially, seeking "evidence" in different branches of science, and specifically in genetics. They particularly place special hopes in the serological method. Its essence lies in a genetic analysis of the chain of heriditary factors (blood antigens). The nationalist chieftains plan to run a series of serological tests among individuals of Ukrainian parentage living outside the Soviet Union.

These tests — so the nationalist hierarchy believes — will help them attain two objectives. First, to prove what is termed the "blood brotherhood" of all Ukrainians and, consequently, "their genetic, blood distinction from all their neighbors." In other words, this plainly is yet another attempt to make the Ukrainian ethnic groups antagonistic to other ethnic groups, nations or nationalities, and thus distract the working people from the class struggle. Thirdly, the OUNite-racists hope that these serological studies will assist them in strengthening their influence upon the younger generation. The Banderite *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* wrote: "In the present-

day world of progress, our educational approach must be modern and scientific. It will have a stronger appeal to the younger generation once our national genetic distinction has been corroborated by modern experimentation."

At the same time, the nationalist elite is most anxious to confirm what they claim is the "supremacy of the Ukrainian nation." For example, one nationalist manipulator, speaking at a regular SUM meeting, declared: "My people are the best of all! My people are the salt of the earth!" In commenting on this statement, *The Canadian Tribune* pointed out: "His view of the Ukrainian people being 'unique' coincides with Hitler's master race theory."

All this absurd activity yields absolutely no evidence in favor of the existence of a "world Ukrainian nation." People of Ukrainian descent living in the West do not belong to this mythical nation but to the people of the country in which they were born and have lived ever since. They form ethnic groups of one or another country because they share a common territory, economic ties, language, etc., with the other peoples living there.

It should also be remembered that taking place in the midst of Ukrainian ethnic groups is the process of social differentiation. Existing side-by-side with the working people, which constitute the absolute numerical majority, are the bourgeois strata whose interests coincide with those of the local exploiter classes. This disproves the allegations that persons of Ukrainian descent belong to a "world Ukrainian nation," form a "homogeneous substance" and have a "common goal." The fact remains that neither

the "Ukrainian" owners of different enterprises nor their "Ukrainian" workers — whom they ruthlessly exploit — have ever had a "common goal." In a bourgeois society the groupings are by classes and not by nations.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists also try to utilize the "world Ukrainian nation" notion in order to prove their mythical oneness with the people inhabiting Soviet Ukraine. This supposedly gives them the "right" to act on behalf of that people, to "represent and defend their interests."

In this way, by spreading the "world nation" concept, the nationalist leaderhsip tries to isolate the workers of Ukrainian descent from the progressive forces in the countries of residence, to prevent them from taking part in the class struggle against both the "foreign" and "their own" exploiters, and to justify their anti-Soviet activity.

The "world Ukrainian nation" notion served as the launching pad for such ideas as "dual citizenship" and "dual patriotism" which were also borrowed from Zionist conceptions of the same name.

According to these concepts, all individuals of Ukrainian parentage are to be regarded as citizens of two countries — the one in which they presently reside and the "Ukraine." In speaking about the Ukraine, the nationalist ideologists have in mind some fabricated, mythical so-called "spiritual Ukraine." They do not hurry to explain what this "spiritual Ukraine," of which boys and girls must consider themselves as being citizens, is all about. For camouflage purposes, the reactionary youth publications talk

about their "spiritual Ukraine" as being a "wonderful native land," a "country of sunflowers and nightingales," etc. However, one also comes across more candid statements. For example, Nestor Ripetsky in his book *Thirty-Three Stories,* perhaps in trying to reserve a place in the sun for the nationalist elite, exclaims: "I am for a Ukraine that will give right even to idlers and fools."

However, as can be seen from the nationalist media, what the leadership has in mind under the term "spiritual Ukraine" is the establishment of a fascist state resembling Hitler's Third Reich or Pinochet's Chile with their systems of severe exploitation of the working people and absence of political rights. No wonder the "moderate" nationalist newspaper *Ukrayinske Zhyttya,* having the OUNites in mind, wrote: "And what could be expected from you, should you really come to power? Prisons and concentration camps under nationalist flags?"

In asserting the existence of "dual citizenship," the nationalist ringleaders stress that the first and basically only homeland for young people of Ukrainian origin should be the nonexistent "spiritual Ukraine." In this way the nationalist bigwigs essentially deprive themselves, and everyone snared by their dogmas, of a homeland.

"Dual citizenship" is an unsound and reactionary concept. It was concocted so as to isolate the Ukrainian youth living abroad, to distract them from participating in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress, and to involve them instead in the anti-Soviet politics of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. Confirmation of this is the notion of "dual patriotism" being

spread by nationalist propaganda, or the concept "dual loyalty" — a derivative of "dual citizenship."

In accordance with this concept, individuals of Ukrainian parentage allegedly have certain responsibilities in regard to both the "spiritual Ukraine" and the countries of their residence. Loyalty toward the countries of residence, asserts the *Ukrayinskiy Samostiynik,* is, first and foremost, "loyalty to the administrative and political power." It is drummed into the heads of boys and girls that they must preserve and protect, even at the cost of their lives, the existing — and decaying — bourgeois system. In the words of *Vilne Slovo*, they must serve as its "watchdogs." It was precisely to these concocted duties that the nationalist leaders appealed when they blessed those brainwashed young Americans and Australians of Ukrainian origin to fight in the war of aggression in Vietnam, and those in Britain — to suppress the movement for civil rights in Northern Ireland.

The essence of the nationalist notion of loyalty to the "spiritual Ukraine" boils down to faithfully serving the leaders of reactionary organizations and fulfilling a whole number of duties. The latter includes the obligation of "belonging to nationalist organizations," of "generously donating to the Ukrainian cause," including sacrificing one's life, etc. In other words, the nationalist big wheels want the younger Ukrainian generation living abroad to support its policy both morally and financially, and to get involved in its subversive anti-Soviet activities. All this is incompatible with the universally accepted norms of citizenship and civil loyalty, a viola-

tion of International Law, and runs counter to the interests of Ukrainian ethnic groups and the rest of the inhabitants of capitalist countries.

The intensification of the machinations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists against their young people, and attempts to have them serve the forces of reaction and war, are being condemned by democratically inclined youth, and evokes fear and resistance on the part of that insignificant number of boys and girls who were snared by nationalist dogmas. More and more of them are beginning to revalue the "merits" of the notions imposed on them, reconsider their future, and the place and role allotted to them by the nationalist higher-ups. They are more attentively following the successes attained by Soviet Ukraine, and the happy and creative life that Soviet youth enjoy there.

An increasing number of young people in the West are ignoring the nationalist publications. According to nationalist sources, 91.1 percent of Ukrainian Canadian young men and women generally do not read their printed matter. Therefore, *Noviy Shlyakh* was correct when it declared: "The situation looks hopeless. The Ukrainian (nationalist — *Author*) press has no grounds for existence." It would be superfluous to add anything to this conclusion.

Another symptomatic phenomenon is that youth are ignoring the "Ukrainian study schools." The nationalist bulletin *Ridna Shkola* admits that toward the end of the 1970s only three and a half thousand students remained enrolled at these schools in the United States. In other words, the student body decreased almost three-fold in the past decade. The same fate be-

fell the parish schools. This is substantiated by the conclusion made by one nationalist leader: "Ukrainian (i. e., nationalist — *Author*) schools will vanish into thin air." This just goes to show that there is no place on this planet for the sowers of hatred and hostility.

Also, the feverish efforts on the part of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists to propagandize the concepts of the "world Ukrainian nation" and "dual patriotism" have not produced the required effect. The democratic youth of Ukrainian communities abroad has rejected these notions. Nor are they accepted by the vast majority of children of former Nazi collaborators. They consider themselves to be citizens of the countries where they were born and refuse to support the anti-Soviet activities of the nationalist upper crust. Most of them are scared of the intensified attempts on the part of their elders to commit them to subversive acts against the USSR and eventually this develops into open resistance.

The nationalist organizations are falling into decay as a result of the growing bankruptcy of the doctrine that Ukrainian nationalism represents, and this is inevitable doom. "It is an acknowledged fact that our youth organizations have noticeably been going under lately," admits *Narodna Volya.* This decaying process has affected absolutely all of the nationalist youth organizations. Nationalist statistics indicate that all these organizations currently encompass barely one percent of the young people in Ukrainian ethnic communities. Moreover, if in the 1970s the pro-fascist Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) effectively operated and had branches in 12 countries, today the number has dwindled to

eight. Its official magazine *Avangard* admitted that the Association now faces the classical dilemma "To be or not to be?" The same — far from rhetorical — question must be resolved by the Ukrainian Organization of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides (PLAST).

An increasing number of young men and women who had originally been snared by the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are currently disowning their poisonous tenets. "A bankrupt ideology does not attract young people," Yuri Savytsky, one of the nationalist VIPs, had to admit. And the nationalist publication *Amerika* with great alarm noted that "leftist trends have appeared among part of the Ukrainian youth present at all these (nationalist — *Author*) congresses." Echoed by the nationalist newspaper *Vyzvolniy Shlyakh* was the "terrible" thought that "the younger generation sees its Mecca in Moscow." But how can these young people share nationalist ideas and concepts which, in the words of *Ukrayinske Zhyttya,* "sanction fratricide and base egoism, which actually are not ideas but a front behind which dexterous hustlers are busy building their fortunes." That is perhaps why the magazine *Suchasnyk* had to state: "We are increasingly witnessing more or less daring steps being taken by young people who repeatedly challenge even the axioms of our policy — our attitude to Soviet Ukraine, our nationalism, etc."

The nationalist chieftains are disturbed by the growth of anti-war sentiments among youth. They were particularly aggrieved when the reactionary periodical *Ukrayinski Visti* claimed that a steadily decreasing number of their wards

were "willing to go and fight in the Ukraine." Indeed, their numbers are truly not enough. For example, only one rather faded young lady could be found at a nationalist youth gathering who spoke out in favor of an "armed liberation of the Ukraine." *Ukrayinski Visti* summed up the sad plight of the nationalist camp in the following way: "What faces us is a major threat; with the bulk of the emigrants (i. e., former Nazi henchmen — *Author*) growing steadily older, there won't be anyone left to whom we can pass on the flag of our struggle, the flag we set out with in our wanderings abroad."

More often and more candidly is the doom of Ukrainian nationalism acknowledged by its hierarchy. For example, Roman Ilnitsky declares that the nationalist leaders are "desperate, convinced that history has passed the death sentence on them." The end of the nationalist elite is reflected even in the verses of the "yellow-blue poets." In the poem "Hybrids" by Ivan Manilo-Dnipryak one finds such words:

Hybrids we — walking corpses.

What lies in store for the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist camp without any influx of youth into their midst? Bohdan Fedenko, one of the nationalist VIPs, seems to have answered this question rather aptly, when he wrote: "The bankrupt leaders of this hierarchy (OUNites — *Author*) will live out their lives in emigration as relics of the stupid and insane politicking that inflicted harm on the Ukrainian people through their criminal ideology and services to foreign interests."

It should, however, be kept in mind that Ukrainian nationalism, while thrashing about in

agony, is also trying to find a way out of the dilemma by counting on a new world war breaking out. That is why the nationalist elite keeps furiously attacking the policies of detente and disarmament. That is why it calls for a thermonuclear war. The nationalist walking corpses are ready to drag the entire world down with them into the grave. Not so long ago, Zenon Pelensky, a fascist toady, pompously declared: "Who says that among nine dead planets in the solar system life should exist only on our 'blue' planet? Earth could well keep on rotating for billions of years more, as do Venus and Mars, which do not have the slightest trace of life on them." This, therefore, is one more substantiation that Ukrainian nationalism is a dangerous and wicked enemy of young people, one that is obviously set on depriving them even of the right to live.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are intensifying their intrigues against youth, and polishing up their methods of luring young people into their traps. They are doing this in an attempt to slow down the ongoing process of their political disintegration. That is why the warning by the famous French writer Romain Rolland rings fresh and true today. He wrote: "Nationalism — that is the enemy! My young friends, may these words become your battle cry!.. Beware of nationalism: it has very strong roots!"

OLEXIY KARTUNOV

PREACHERS OF RACISM AND VIOLENCE

Zionism today is one of the basic instruments which imperialist reaction manipulates to conduct its subversive activities against the international communist, workers or national-liberation movement, and first and foremost against the Soviet Union and the socialist community countries.

Zionism emerged at the end of the 19th century as a bourgeois nationalist trend. It incorporated into its ideology and ramified system of organizations and practice the most reactionary strata of the Jewish bourgeoisie which are part and parcel of the exploiter circles in the West. Its basic components are militant chauvinism, racism, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Israel and the United States of America are the major outposts of Zionism.

The main postulates of Zionism can be reduced to the following idea: Jews living in various countries constitute "World Jewry"; they are connected by "ties of blood," are "exclusive" and "God's chosen people"; no matter in what country Jews live, they seemingly "gravitate to Zionism," take part in the "Jewish national-liberation movement" and have "historic rights" to Palestine and adjacent territories where they, it is said, "should" settle within the boundaries of a "strictly Jewish" state; Israel supposedly is the "Promised Land" for "World Jewry."

Just like any other bourgeois nationalist doctrine, the creation of "favorable social terrain" for disseminating Zionist ideas envisages the class disorientation of people of Jewish origin, particularly the Jewish working people, and their intellectual corruption to such an extent that they lose the ability to objectively perceive social and historic processes. Zionist dogmas, from the moment they appeared, were designed to entrap Jews in the collective nationalist dream that they are "superior" to other people, and to lead them down the road to spiritual ruination.

The cornerstone of the Zionist doctrine is racism. Zionist leaders want to hide its class nature behind a veil of outwardly contradictory and wordy "theoretical" structures. The concepts of Zionism consist of a mixture of geopolitics, social-Darwinism, and apologetic Judaic dogmas. The misanthropic writings of Friedrich Nietzsche, Oswald Spengler and Joseph Arthur de Gobineau serve as the theoretical foundation for the Zionist doctrines. The ideas of these authors, full of hatred towards man and man's dignity, as we know, were used by the ideologists of German National Socialism and Italian fascism. The ideological and political alliance between Zionism and fascism is manifested primarily in the preaching of the principle of "higher" and "lower" races. Just as the fascists once proclaimed the superiority of Germans and Italians over others, so do the Zionists tell the Jews that the Jewish people are the highest product of organic development and are called upon to rule over the other lower races.

Basing himself on these racist principles, the

late David Ben-Gurion, former Israeli prime minister, formulated the credo of Zionism in the following way: "History... has awarded us with rare ethnic and intellectual qualities, and this gives us the right and duty to be a guiding-light for other nations."

The uniqueness of Zionism as a varied form of racism is that it rests on Judaism and its fiery preaching of the messianic role of the Jews, their exclusiveness, and hatred of the non-Jewish world. Thus the biblical prophet Isaiah, in addressing the Jewish people, said: *Because you are precious in my eyes and honored, and I love you, I give men in return for you, peoples in exchange for your life. (Isaiah,* ch. XLIII, v. 4.)

The biblical prophets say that the God Jehovah promises Jews who found "their temporary haven" among other peoples the following: *I will bring them out from the peoples and gather them from the countries, and will bring them into their own land... (Ezekiel,* ch. XXXIV, v. 13.)

Judaism, by dividing mankind into the "God-chosen" (Jews) and those whom "God despises" (goyim), advocates extreme separatism and a self-imposed isolated existence for the Jews, who seemingly constitute "one body, one soul," and that is why "every Jew is responsible for his brother." The Zionist ideologues have armed themselves with these chauvinistic and racist Judaic principles to substantiate the thesis of a "World Jewry," of "the elite," of an expansionist foreign policy, and frantic ideological and political struggle against socialism.

The Zionist sermon about the Jews having a "special mission" sounds like a direct continua-

tion of Judaic dogmas. The "Jewish nation," frenziedly asserted Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, "is an exclusive creation of history; this is a people, religion, race, the bearer of an exclusive civilization in the exclusive meaning of these words, the non-Jewish significance of which is not capable of correctly characterizing the idea of a 'Jewish nation'."

But the Zionists not only count on the hypnosis of racial superiority when they strive to subjugate the Jewish working people and make them the submissive object of class exploitation and the obedient executors of the reactionary schemes of Zionist leaders and world imperialism. The Zionist leaders, guided by the primordial logics of oppressors of all ages, have well mastered the tactic of "the whip and the carrot."

They do not limit themselves in their demagogic practice to befuddling the minds of Jews with sweet talk about their belonging to a "super" race. One of the main "arguments" of the Zionist demagogues was always the cudgel of "anti-Semitism" which they used to intimidate Jews. By twisting the essence of this abominable nationalist manifestation, they strive to falsify its class origin, stating it is not the system that exploits the people which upholds anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism, they say, is of psychological origin and therefore all "non-Jews" are potential anti-Semites... and here the concluding chorus is delivered to this ideological melodrama presented by the Zionists, in which, of course, everything ends in their favor. They particularly maintain that Jews can be rescued from anti-

Semitism by moving to the "Promised Land," that is, to Israel; that beyond the borders of this country all Jews should keep themselves apart from other peoples and be the submissive executors of the Zionists' will; that all exploiters of Jewish descent are brothers, and that class oppression is foolishness, not worthwhile paying attention to, and everyone who does not think in this vein is an enemy. The Zionists impudently, and without substantiation, assert that all Jews are Zionists, and all non-Jews — anti-Semites, and that seemingly Jews and non-Jews cannot live together.

The geopolitical misanthropic strategy to create a "Jewish state from the Nile to the Euphrates," where there is no room for the Arabs, became the major reason of the wars in the Middle East and the escalation of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Support from imperialist circles, and primarily from the United States constantly strengthened the expansionist course of Israel's Zionist leaders, which was totally in line with the global strategy of American imperialism in the Middle East.

To attain their objectives, the leaders of Zionism and Israeli statesmen put and are still putting a considerable stake on young Jews. The big Jewish bourgeoisie, just like the imperialist bourgeoisie on the whole, are striving to ideologically disarm young people, to dull their consciousness, poison their minds with nationalist and chauvinistic ideas, innoculate them with Zionistic ideology and utilize them as political weapons for carrying out their predatory plans. To this end are subordinated the activity of nu-

merous Zionist organizations in the capitalist world and practically the entire Israeli state system.

Zionist leaders have never concealed the reactionary essence of their playing-up to youth. Back in the years when Nazi anti-Semitism was on its bloody rampage, when the Zionists made arrangements with the Nazi ringleaders to send to Palestine "manpower" needed to expel the Arabs, Chaim Weizman, former President of the World Zionist Organization, cynically stated: "I want to save only two million young people from the abyss of tragedy. The old should disappear. They are dust, both economic and moral dust." Thus at the time when the Nazi cannibals were burning in the crematoriums and butchering in the concentration camps six million Jews, Zionist leaders were nonchalantly seeing these people off to death and even facilitating the Nazis in doing so. But so far as the young and wealthy(!) Jews were concerned, they advanced the "rescue conception" so that later these Jews could be utilized to promote their plans.

David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, spouted: "We are only beginning to accomplish our task. We call on fathers (Jewish — *Author*) to help us ship out their children. Even if they do not want to help us in this, we will still bring to Israel the entire youth." What inhuman appetites the Israeli leaders have! "Ship out" (as if they were cattle!) and make submissive servants out of them. However, the Jews in the United States, Western Europe and Latin America are in no hurry to rally to the call of their Israeli brothers and ship out the heir apparents of their private enterprises, banks and

stores to Israel where they would be used as "cannon fodder." They proposed that the Zionist functionaries look for it in the socialist countries; to try to persuade Soviet Jewish young people to emigrate to Israel — to their "native land."

At the 30th World Zionist Congress (Jerusalem, December 1982) it was admitted that Soviet Jewish youth did not support the ideals of Zionism, and that there were few supporters of these "ideals" among the Jewish youth in the West. The Congress arrived at the following conclusion: "Today's young generation of Jews has, to a certain extent, been lost to us. We should most certainly start their education at an early age." The congress proposed that the number of Jewish schools in North and South America, and in Western Europe be doubled or tripled, and that nurseries and kindergartens be immediately (!) organized for Jewish children. "Only this in some measure," declared the organizers of the congress, "will guarantee that in the future they will not be infected by the spirit of assimilation which is so detestable to Zionism." These recommendations are already being put into practice by the Zionists in Israel.

Hazi Rabin is a writer of books for children and he is fairly well-known in Israel. This is his credo: "We live in an age of struggle against the Arabs, which can be called the times of 'bloody fields'. That is why we should abstain from writing books about flowers and butterflies."

Israeli young people are being brainwashed at school, lyceum and university levels. With the assistance of hand-picked dogmatists of the Ju-

daic religion, this is being done by means of massive ideological influence being brought to bear on the students. The latter study the works of the "theorists" of Zionism, and receive military training. Other insidious methods — aimed at youth's spiritual corruption — are also used.

Hammered daily into the heads of young people attending Israeli schools is that they represent the "God-chosen nation," that any of their acts, even criminal, serve its interests and are desired by God. And the final page of the Judaic sacred book the *Torah* teaches its young congregations through the lips of Israeli rabbis: *Every place whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours: from the wilderness and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the uttermost sea shall your coast be. There shall no man be able to stand before you: for the Lord your God shall lay the fear of you and the dread of you upon all the land that ye shall tread upon... (The Holy Bible:* Deuteronomy, Chapter II, Verses 24 and 25.)

The entire state policy of Israel is today based on this reactionary Zionist-Judaic ideology. The Israeli youth are being brought up in this militaristic and racist spirit. The American sociologist G. Tamarin handed out 1,066 questionnaires in various grades of Israeli schools on which 568 boys and 503 girls submitted their answers in written form. The scholar wanted to find out what the attitude of Israeli children was to excerpts from the *Book of Joshua* which glorify violence and murder. "The genocide which Joshua practiced," said G. Tamarin, "is not the only example to be found in the Bible. I chose

the *Book of Joshua* because it occupies a special place in Israel's educational system."

Two questions which Tamarin asked in his questionnaire were: "Do you consider that Joshua and the Israelites did the right or the wrong thing?", and "Let us assume that the Israeli army had captured an Arab village during a war. Would it be good or bad if the same thing was done to the inhabitants of this village as Joshua did to the people of Jericho?"

Some of the typical answers were as follows: a student from the town of Sharon wrote: "The objective of the war was for the Israelis to capture the country. That is why they did the right thing: in capturing cities they killed its inhabitants. It is undesirable for foreign elements to be in Israel. People of different religions would influence the Israelis in a bad way."

A girl from a kibbutz in Meychal answered: "Joshua did the right thing by killing all the people in Jericho because he had to capture the entire country and had no time to be bothered with prisoners." Similar answers were received from 66 to 95 percent of those polled, depending on the school, kibbutz or city.

Thirty percent of the pupils categorically answered "yes" to the question whether or not it is permissible in our time to liquidate the entire population of an Arab village.

Judaism is the state religion in Israel. The clergy interfere in the most intimate spheres of the private lives of Jews. Rabbis, not content with the rite of circumcision, demand that still another act of mockery be perpetrated on juveniles — the *bar mitzvan* ceremony. During the *bar mitzvan* ritual, the juvenile is forced to give

an oath of allegiance to Jehovah, demonstrate his knowledge of Talmudistic teachings — read excerpts from the *Torah* in the synagogue and comment on them — and declare that he was joining the Judaic community by his own free will. The child is then intimidated. He is told that if he violates even one of the 613 rules, Jehovah will punish him severely. The Zionist-Judaic clericalism is becoming ever more martial in character in Israel. During the 1964-1966 period the clericals openly took the offensive when they advanced exclusively reactionary demands which youth in particular have to endure. In early 1964, the National Religious Party rendered substantial assistance to the Ben-Gurion and Dayan military-political grouping. Rafael, the leader of this party, quite candidly defined its program: "We believe that Israel will become a state of the *Torah* and the *Shabbat.*" After the elections, the party demanded concessions, this time in the field of medicine (no autopsies were to be made without the consent of relatives) as well as in the field of education (that studying the *Torah* be compulsory and the state finance all religious schools). In Israel today almost one-third of the children attend religious schools. Studying the *Torah* is also a main subject at secular schools.

The Polish researcher A. Zeromskie calculated that Israeli schoolchildren during the seven years that they study the *Holy Scriptures* of *Tanaha, Mishnah* and *Gemara* spend 1,500 academic hours. The enormity of this becomes particularly clear when, in comparison, only 20 hours are devoted to foreign geography during an eight-year curriculum.

Having the interests of the Jewish bourgeoisie and clerics in mind, the inveterate nationalists and chauvinists do everything they can so that Jews from an early age do not understand the class contents of Zionism and the social reasons of its origin. They want to instil in children the idea that Jews have been drawn toward Zionist ideals supposedly from ancient times. That is why the Zionists lately included into the secondary school curriculum, apart from the *Holy Scriptures,* such subjects as History of Ancient Zionism, Embodiment of Ancient Zionism in Modern Israel, a course on the History of Political Zionism, etc.

In the early 1980s, as a result of shortening the study hours of mathematics, biology and foreign languages, a full course on Jewish Spiritual History was also introduced for senior graders, particularly for the children of new arrivals to Israel who do not know Hebrew. This course is combined with Hebrew studies. The argument of the Zionist "teachers" who favored this policy was as follows: "Religion turns youth away from the drug habit. Selective investigations have shown that every second pupil to some degree has already been attracted to narcotics. It is better for him to be drawn to religious rituals than gravitate toward heroin..."

The following fact discloses what the clerics in Israel have been up to: in February 1968 the chief rabbi in the city of Haifa, Moses Fundling, refused to register the marriage of Helen Ben-Gurion, niece of the former Israeli prime minister, with an officer of the Israeli army on the pretext that she was not Jewish — her mother

was a Christian by birth. The matter was left for "further clarification."

Even before Ben-Gurion's niece decided to "become a Jewess" her grandfather had told her: "The main and biggest problem brought forth by our (Zionist — *Author*) way of thinking — which directs our movement and entire politics — is that the State (Israel — *Author*) is not an end in itself but only the means for attaining the goal. And that goal is Zionism." Thus we know the reason why Jews are identified with Judaism, and Judaists with Zionists. But even in Israel not all the Jews are followers of the "true" faith, and all the more so not all of them are Zionists. Thus it turns out that history repeats itself. During the time of Hitler's Third Reich children born from mixed marriages were not allowed to be called Germans or Aryans. Now for the same reason the Zionists, along with the Judaists refuse people the right to call themselves Jews because of mixed marriages.

In Israel today a marriage between a Jewish woman and an Arab man is qualified by the Zionists not only as being a blot on "racial purity" but also a genuine act of sabotage that undermines the state. Not long ago Israel's special services uncovered a new type of "undermining elements" which were doing their "dirty" work at a marriage registration bureau. "Mixed marriages," attests *Newsweek*, "are considered as being a threat to the Jewish community."

As was admitted by Deputy Eremm of the Knesset, the children of non-Jewish mothers, who arrived in Israel from Eastern Europe with their Jewish husbands, are being persecuted in schools even by their classmates.

The cult of nationalism, chauvinism and Judaism is practiced everywhere in Israel. For example, the zoo in Jerusalem keeps only such animals which "had the honor" of being mentioned in the Bible. Alongside the plate indicating the animal's name is another one with a corresponding citation about the animal's sacred place in the Promised Land. Throughout Israel can be found the Biblical quotation *Here is your Land, Sons of Israel...* Every child attending school, whose head has been crammed with the *Torah* since the age of six, knows by heart the ending of the verse *From the River of Egypt (the Nile) to the Great Euphrates River.* Denoted therein is the idea of a "Great Israel," of the significance of present and past seizures of Arab lands, and animosity toward other nations and religions.

At the university level the process of educating Israeli youth in the spirit of Zionism and violence against the Arabs has also been considerably stepped up. *But of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shall save alive nothing that breatheth... (The Holy Bible:* Deuteronomy, Chapter 20, Verse 16). Such instructions from the *Old Testament* are being implanted in the minds of Israeli students through college textbooks. In his time David Ben-Gurion "enlightened" Israeli students in the following manner: "The map of Israel is not the map of our country. We have another map, which you — the students and youth of Jewish schools of learning — should incorporate. The Israeli nation must expand its territory from the Euphrates to the Nile." The results of such an upbringing is that

many young people become extremists and terrorists. Here is a characteristic fact: soon after the State of Israel was established, a married couple emigrated from Poland to that country. They brought with them their ten-year-old son. Five years later, he gave an interview to the Israeli newspaper *Od Nova:* "Understand that an Arab will always remain an Arab," declared the teenager. "When an Arab sees a rifle he immediately turns and runs. If it were not for the United Nations, the Suez Canal would have long ago been in our hands. We should have butchered them all. But everything still lies ahead of us."

The speeches of Israeli officials are always liberally sprinkled with remarks pertaining to racial superiority and intolerance.

Apart from the spiritual brainwashing of youth by the Zionists, the Israeli ruling circles implement numerous practical measures in training future cadres for the army. This task has been given to the militarized Zionist youth organizations *Gadna* and *Nohal.* The former consists of scout battalions with up to 80,000 schoolchildren between the ages of 14 and 18 in their ranks. They wear uniforms, go in for drills and marksmanship, and acquire battle experience in war exercises conducted in the desert. All this constitutes the basic requirements for the future commandos.

The military training of Israeli boys and girls in *Gadna* and *Nohal* is conducted by career officers and petty officers — just like in the regular Israeli army. These instructors "wholeheartedly" share with the youth their know-how of terrorism and violence which they acquired on

the West Bank of the Jordan River, in the Gaza Strip, on the Sinai Peninsula, on the Golan Heights, and in Lebanon, where they made short work of the peaceful Arab inhabitants. Special manuals instruct the young Israelis to behave in the following manner: "In time of war, when Israeli troops are attacking the adversary, they are allowed, even obliged according to religious laws, to kill civilians..."

In bringing up youth in this fashion, the Tel-Aviv "hawks" want to make a weapon out of future generations of Israelis for their aggressive political foreign policy in relation to neighboring Arab countries. It is precisely to the army — whose core is made up of Israeli young people — that the Zionist leadership entrusts the role of aggressor in the wars they unleash and in putting down Arab resistance on the territories that Israel occupies.

Indeed, the cult of brutality, disseminated by the Zionists, has already brought bitter fruit. The spiritual degradation of Israeli young people, which is being intensified by internal unsolved social and economic problems, is driving them to crime and violence. According to data published by the reactionary Israeli newspaper *Nasha Strana*, the number of crimes in Israel has increased in the past 20 years from 22,000 per annum to 190,000. Statistics show that every fourth inhabitant of Tel-Aviv is a professional criminal. Registered in that city are 5,000 criminals under the age of 13, with every 13th being a drug addict. Such criminal offences as murder and armed robbery are on the upswing. The Israeli press does not hide the fact that the majority of crimes are committed by young people.

Despite this, the Zionist ringleaders are continuing their "educational" program for youth.

In the meantime, ever greater segments of the population are condemning the misanthropic concepts of Zionism and racist anti-Arab policy of the Israeli "hawks." This movement became particularly strong after the barbaric aggression of the Israeli military in Lebanon in the summer of 1982, when Zionist racists savagely killed peaceful Palestinians and Lebanese citizens.

The dirty war of aggression in Lebanon opened the eyes of even those who not long ago themselves sowed death with their rifles for the sake of "Great Israel." Four thousand officers and men deserted from the Israeli army during the intervention in Lebanon. A young Israeli officer wrote at that time: "As soon as I can walk again after recuperating from my wounds, I will not remain even one day in Israel. I do not want to be called up for another insane war which Begin wants to unleash. After what I have seen, I can no longer look my children straight in the eye. I feel that I am a criminal because I live in a country that is ruled by people who yearn for the death of other nations."

Israeli young people have raised their voice in protest against the aggressive policy of the Zionist government. Eighty young reservists sent a letter to Begin when Israel was on the warpath in which they declared that they did not want to be "cannon fodder." Numerous Israeli boys and girls participated in the 400,000-strong protest demonstration that took place on September 26, 1982 in Tel-Aviv on the initiative of the "Peace Today" movement.

A broad anti-war movement has spread across

the entire country. It shows that the aggressive policy of the ruling Zionist circles engenders further disillusionment among the broad strata of the population in Israel.

Meanwhile, numerous young people are fleeing from Israel because they do not want to die for the "ideals of Zionism." Six hundred thousand persons — according to some sources as many as 800,000 — have left Israel since that state was founded. And the figure is steadily increasing. As is known, Ben-Gurion referred to the flight of young people as being the "nation's hemorrhage." According to data released by Israel's emigration service, close to 11,000 persons left the "Promised Land" every month during 1982, whereas only 1,000 Jews had landed there as immigrants during the entire year. That a feeling of scepticism exists among the country's populace, primarily among its youth, is borne out by a poll conducted not long ago among high school students in Haifa. Thirty-five percent of the girls and forty-five percent of the boys polled did not hide the fact that they wanted to leave the Zionist "heaven." That is why Israeli leaders consider that a way out of the sharpening social, economic and political crisis is to further fan chauvinism and racism, maintain tension in the country, and mount new political adventures against neighboring Arab states.

Many Israelis are beginning to realize the need to oppose this policy which is leading the country to a catastrophe. The mass movement has demonstrated that they are certain that Israel must halt the war, that the Palestinian

question can and should be settled not by military but by political means.

The country's progressive forces are leaning on the ever-growing influence of the world communist movement, on the support and fraternal assistance of the socialist community countries headed by the Soviet Union in the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, in the fight against the Zionist ideology and politics of the Israeli government.

OLEXANDER LYASHCHUK

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